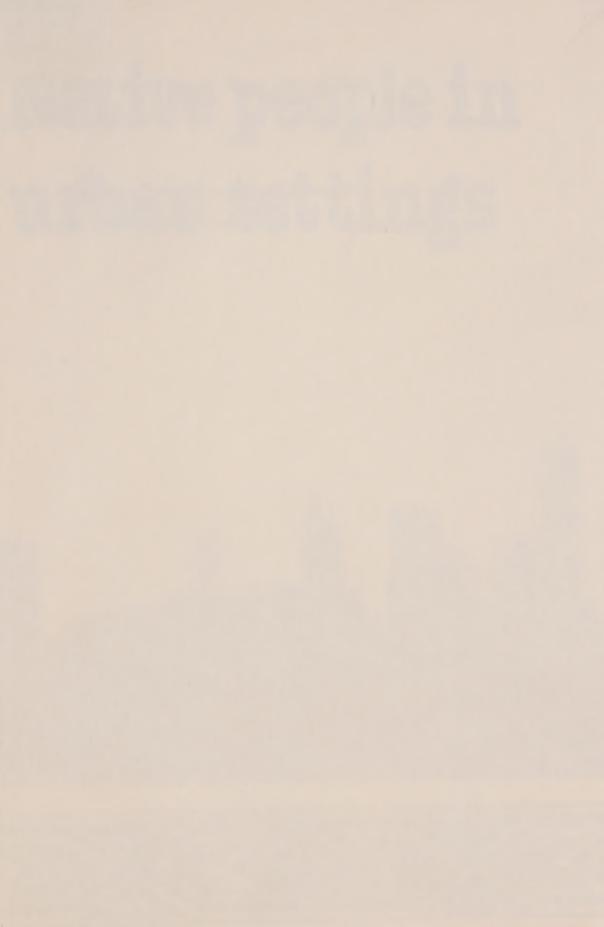
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Native people in urban settings





Native people in urban settings

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Problems, Needs and Services

By Frank Maidman, Ph.D.

A Report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981.



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This is the first public report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting. The report is a compilation of research undertaken by the joint government/Native Task Force and reflects aspects of the situation of approximately 3,000 Native people who participated.

In addition, the report presents a general analysis of government and community services being provided to the respondents. In an honest attempt to avoid the broad generalizations that have historically colored provincial government/Native relations, the research findings represent the situation of the respondents, and should not be regarded as representative of the reality of the total urban Native population. The report reflects fairly, however, the problems of urban Native respondents in gaining access to, and using, community and government resources.

In the four years since the research was undertaken, there have been unforeseen constitutional, social, political and economic developments in the urban constituencies, which are not evidenced in the analysis of the data.

In order to be placed in a realistic perspective, five major characteristics of the Task Force research process must be recognized.

- The demographic characteristics of the urban Native population are not consistently identified in relation to Indian-Metis specific differences.
- 2. The research sample of urban Native people interviewed during the research was heavily biased toward status Indians.
- 3. The "participatory research" aspects of the research program were not completed, in that it proved financially impossible to have the collected data verified by the participating communities.
- 4. The political status and concerns of urban Native people were not clearly identified in the data collection and were consequently minimized in the analysis of the data.
- 5. In the development of the Task Force research design, the subsequent significance of aboriginal and/or constitutional issues was not foreseen and is therefore absent from analysis of the Task Force findings.

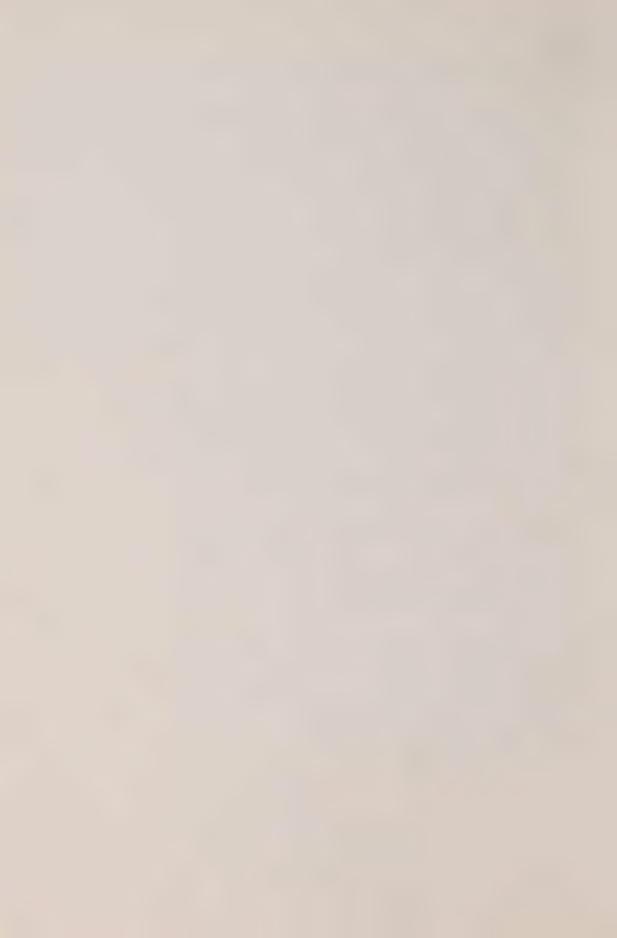
Having expressed these concerns, the Task Force participants wish to assert the value of this report. Although the respondents have been aware of, and have articulated for many years, their problems, unmet needs and service requirements, the report succeeds in documenting them in a way that is objectively useful.

Should this exercise initiate positive co-operative policy, program and legislative change, the value of the Task Force research process will far outstrip the shortcomings outlined here.

As participants in the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, we look forward to Era II of the project. In the context of continued co-operation, the Task Force partnership reaffirms our commitment to completion of the Task Force goal: that of improving the quality of life for all urban Native people, through self-identified social, economic and political change.

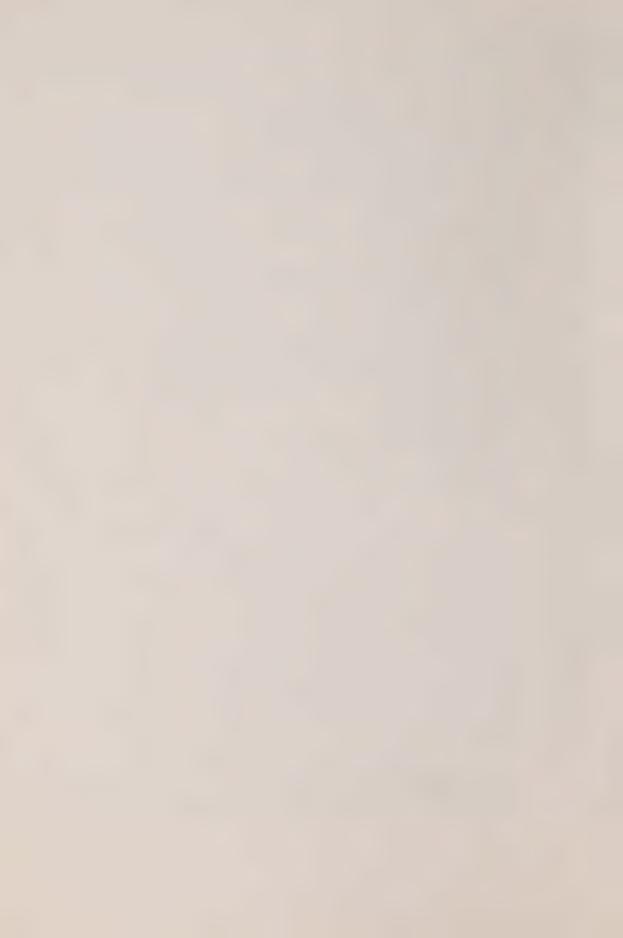
James W. Ramsay, Chairman Barney Batise, Chairman

Steering Committee Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting



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This research would not have been possible without the assistance of numerous people. Over 500 people across Ontario contributed to various research projects: researchers, administrators, consultants, trainers, field workers, field work supervisors and staff members of Native organizations and government departments. Action research projects require the skills, efforts and dedication of many people; to all those who participated I extend my warmest thanks.

Although it is not easy to name some people and not others, the following deserve special acknowledgment. Ljuba Irwin, as the original Task Force co-ordinator, did an exceptional job in raising additional funds and taking a tough stand on numerous issues. The office and supervisory staff provided support as well as numerous insights into Native urban conditions: Bill Lee, Spence Butler, John Maracle, Ellery Horsman, Peter Quaw, Brenda Small, Bev Coney, Jill Platt, Myra Bannon and Tina Millette. Andrew Effrat and Frank McIntyre were important consultants during the early stages, and at numerous times throughout. Ray Martin, the Task Force facilitator for Era II, was also helpful during the late stages of Era I.

Special acknowledgment should go to Sylvia Maracle and her staff at the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres for sharing their ideas and facilities at numerous stages throughout the project.

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To the members of the working and steering committees of the Task Force, I extend my special thanks for consultation and other support during all phases. Representatives from the following government ministries and Native organizations made this a memorable project: Ministries of Citizenship and Culture (formerly Culture and Recreation), Housing, Health, Community and Social Services, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, Ontario Native Women's Association, and Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

A special thanks goes to Dr. Linda Fischer who joined the project late, but added much needed skill and moral support at possibly the most crucial stage.

My warmest thanks go to the hundreds and hundreds of Native people living in urban settings, who allowed themselves to be studied one more time. Without their patience and willingness to share information about their lives, Task Force research could not have succeeded. The promise of Era II is to promote changes in the quality of their lives.

The Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting was funded by:

The Ministry of Citizenship and Culture
The Ministry of Community and Social Services
The Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing
The Ministry of Health
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
Secretary of State
Health and Welfare, Canada

Frank Maidman, PhD, Research Director.

In May, 1978, the Ontario Federation of Friendship Centres prepared a discussion paper entitled Strangers in Our Own Land, for presentation to the Honourable Robert Welch, QC, Minister of Culture and Recreation. The paper basically stated that the needs of migrating Native people are many, and that some of the many major problems affecting urban Native people include:

- discrimination,
- unemployment,
- lack of adequate housing,
- alcohol abuse,
- lack of education,
- inadequate health care,
- lack of cultural awareness.

Further, the discussion paper suggested that provincial efforts to meet these needs have been stopgap, short-term, and poorly co-ordinated. Also, it recommended that resources provided by the province must be increased, better co-ordinated, and more reliable.

The federation proposed that a Task Force be established for the purpose of:

- 1. defining the issues,
- 2. gathering relevant information,
- 3. mobilizing existing resources,
- 4. developing resources where none presently exist.
- 5. changing policy and legislation in order to provide ongoing permanent resources.

In June, 1978, Mr. Welch accepted the federation's proposal and a Task Force was formed. The Task Force, essentially a planning committee, was formally named the *Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting*.

Goals and objectives

In September, 1978, the following goals and objectives of the Task Force were established:

Goals

The improvement of the quality of life of Native people migrating to and residing in urban areas, and through co-operative efforts, to develop the opportunities and resources whereby they may determine their own future, while adjusting to an urban environment and retaining their cultural identity.

Objectives

- 1. To identify needs of Native people migrating to and residing in urban areas.
- 2. To identify and evaluate resources available to urban Native people.
- 3. To determine resource requirements based on

- Native people's needs and the effective services currently available.
- 4. To identify and clarify areas of jurisdictional responsibility and limitations.
- 5. To develop a plan that will meet the identified needs and achieve the stated goal.

Structure and composition

The Task Force is a partnership venture, involving three Ontario Native organizations and five ministries of the provincial government. During the first phase of work, it was composed of a steering committee, a working committee and a research team. Government and Native organizations were represented on both committees (see Figure 1).

Development of the Task Force

Soon after the goals and objectives were established, it became apparent that not enough information was available to accomplish the Task Force's work. Consequently, by the spring of 1979, it was decided that a research program was necessary for the realization of Task Force objectives. The research activities became known as Era I of the Task Force's work, and were organized into six different projects. Continuing the spirit of partnership, several of these projects involved Native people in research planning, data gathering and analysis. For a detailed description of these projects and the principles of "participatory research", see Appendix I.

Era II of the Task Force is a policy-development stage, and immediately follows Era I. Like the research phase, policy development will involve the various communities discussing research results and suggesting directions for policy development. Premier Davis has assured Native members of the Task Force that the provincial government will help to assure the co-operation of the federal and municipal governments where necessary. It is anticipated that the Task Force's work will result in a comprehensive and co-ordinated policy towards Native people in Ontario urban areas.

This report presents the results of the various Era I research projects. Although these results include "ideas for change" from Native and non-Native people, the actual changes will be planned during Era II. The content of this report provides considerable material for Era II discussion and action, but process and outcome in the latter will appear in subsequent publications. To a considerable extent, the many *details* of Era I research can be pursued in the original reports, since this report only presents a synthesis, or summary, of the highlights of those reports.

Figure 1

The Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting: Administration structure

Steering Committee

Government

Co-chairman

Deputy Ministers of:

- Citizenship and Culture
- Municipal Affairs and Housing
- Health
- Community and Social Services
- Northern Affairs*

Other Member

Canada Mortgage and Housing

Working Committee

Government

Co-chairman

Program staff from above government ministries

Native

Co-chairman

Presidents of:

- Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres
- Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association
- Ontario Native Women's Association

Native

Co-chairman

Representatives from above Native organizations

Task Force Co-ordinator Research Team

Director, associates, assistants, consultants, field workers

Community sample Native people who constituted the sample of the study entitled Urban Natives and their Communities: A Study of Migration, Problems and Service Experiences.

Metis Native people having mixed aboriginal and other ancestry.

Native agency sample Staff members of Native organizations who constituted the sample of the study entitled Urban Native Resource Needs and Service Assessment: A Key Informant Study.

Native people Canadians of aboriginal descent, including status and non-status Indians, Metis and Inuit.

Inuit people are not the subject of this Task Force.

Non-status Indians Registered Indian people who lost their status through enfranchisement sections in the Indian Act.

OFIFC Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres

OMNSIA Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association

ONWA Ontario Native Women's Association

Participatory research An approach to action research that involves the full and active participation of the community or group in the research process.

Status Indian Person registered or entitled to be registered as an Indian according to the Indian Act

Treaty Indian Another term for status Indian which focuses on the relationships negotiated by Indians with the British or Canadian governments rather than the federally-imposed Indian Act.

Urban setting Cities and towns with populations exceeding approximately 1,500 people. For study purposes, locations with smaller populations were included if they were close to urban centres or if they were identified as key Native migration or settlement points. The mobility of many Native people between smaller and larger cities warranted a flexible selection of sample locations.

Introduction

There is growing evidence that Ontario's Native people, like those in other parts of Canada, have increasingly moved from small rural and reserve communities to larger centres.* Also, there are strong feelings that, because of the limited economic and educational backgrounds linked to social and historical circumstances, urban Natives are not living the kind of life that they anticipated when making their moves. Added to these assumptions is a serious perception, expressed in Strangers in Our Own Land, that despite governments' acknowledgment of their special circumstances and needs, the response to the urban presence of Native people has not been adequate. This report, primarily a synthesis, draws together the findings of numerous research projects to assist government and Native planning processes by providing the following information:

- The numbers and distribution of Native people in urban settings, their reasons for moving and estimates of future trends. This information will allow planners to estimate the numbers of people with potential needs as well as to gauge future changes in these estimates. (Section Two)
- Problems experienced, and resource needs, while living in urban settings. Such information concretely documents those conditions that are at the basis of resource needs, as well as the main variations in these conditions across the province. Distinctions between core problems (e.g. unemployment) and symptomatic problems (e.g. alcohol abuse) will be made. The interdependence between problems will also be noted. (Section Two)
- How government departments perceive and respond to the needs of urban Native people, in terms of mandate and policy-development, problem diagnosis, needs assessment, program implementation, and the like. This information will allow planners some room for self-examination in terms of appropriateness of government-level responses, and the self-identified problems in their own responses. (Section Three)

- To provide information on the types of available resources for Native people and selected ways in which such resources are delivered. Such information allows an assessment of the degree of fit between identified needs and available resources. Also, an emphasis on how resources are provided allows questions to be raised concerning the appropriateness of such patterns for Native clientele. As well, this information will provide a picture of the broad context in which future changes must occur. (Section Four)
- To provide evaluative information in the sense of isolating those problems in implementing services and programs for Native people. As part of this evaluation, indicators of program effectiveness will be presented, reflecting both the usefulness to clients and the quality of service delivery. This information will cast a critical eye at the resource program patterns described above, and will look ahead to future change directions. (Section Five)
- To provide information on those changes that Native people and service personnel think "ought" to occur. Such information provides the beginning of a pool of ideas or solutions for change. Era II can draw from these ideas for further deliberation at the community level. In addition, this information allows an understanding of those ideas that might constrain or help future changes. (Section Six)
- To provide, by way of summary, some broad principles (or goals) for change which can guide the efforts of later Task Force phases. These principles are statements of the most desirable consequences of change as suggested by Task Force research. Such principles, because they are abstract, do not provide specific guidelines on how to effect them. (Section Seven)

To anticipate some of the report highlights, it will be shown that Native respondents are indeed showing mobility to urban centres, and will continue to do so. Although a number of reasons were identified for migration, economic and educational reasons were highlighted.

Native respondents experience a number of problems in urban living. Chief among these are unemployment, limited education, inadequate housing, a desire for cultural awareness for themselves and for others, alcohol abuse, and discrimination. Although there are a number of employment programs that might be useful to Native people, by and large the core problems identified are not being given the level of priority

^{*} Recent studies indicate that the rates of migration have levelled off in recent years. However, as Task Force demographic estimates indicate, the absolute numbers living off reserve will probably continue to grow.

by government necessary for effective policy-making, and problem diagnosis. Moreover, government policy-making appears to be more reactive to political pressures and past mistakes, than based on accurate needs analyses. Finally, government informants identify a number of problems in carrying out policies and programs; most are needs identification problems, problems in the Native community, and cultural barriers.

Information on the available resources in cities and towns of high concentration reveals few current or planned-for special programs for Native people. There is evidence that, as a group, Native respondents are high users of human services, but service providers report an under-utilization of resources, despite the need. Based on various resource and organizational characteristics, most human service organizations seem ill-equipped to provide adequate service to their Native clientele. Both Native and non-Native practitioners and organizational heads agree that the appropriateness of service to Native clients must be enhanced, although there may be slight differences in how this should be done. On the matter of suggested directions for change, a range of ideas came from Native and non-Native people alike. The more emphatic ones require opening basic opportunities for employment, education and housing. Other suggestions focus on ways that service programs can be more appropriately developed and delivered, to respect the cultural differences and social situations of Native people. Native respondents also have identified a range of self-help efforts for immediate problem-solving.

Introduction: People on the move

A married man, now employed in the social services field, has moved a total of 13 times. He moved six times for educational purposes and four times for employment (twice because of discrimination and general dislike of the town, and once to return to his small northern hometown because of homesickness). He now lives in a mid-size northern city and earns a fairly comfortable living.

A woman, born in a small northern community and having only an elementary education, married at 17 and moved to a larger town nearby. While living there, she worked as a tree planter, but was forced to leave her job to look after the couple's young children. The couple lived there for four years before moving to a larger town not far away. During the past 16 years the family moved five times in search of more appropriate housing. Their first home was a "one-bedroom shack" which had the kitchen area in the bedroom but no running water. The second home had two bedrooms and a kitchen but no living room. In the third they installed their own running water. After a short time in an apartment they purchased their own house, installed running water, added two bedrooms to the existing two, and expanded the living room. They lived in this home for 10 years but then separated. The woman now lives in a small apartment on welfare and has had no success in finding employment.

A woman working as a waitress in a southern city of over 200,000 grew up on a southern reserve. She married in her late teens and moved with her husband four times in one and a half years. Each time it was to another location in southern Ontario and the reason for moving was to find or take a job. They returned to the reserve on one move but stayed only three months. They and their children moved to their present city ten years ago and have moved three times within the city, each time to a better location. She makes less than \$7,000 a year but the combined family income is over \$14,000.

A divorced man, who has a part-time job in construction, has moved five times. He lived on a southern reserve for 21 years, then moved to a U.S. city to go to college. He lived there for three years, then moved to Toronto in search of employment. He seldom worked because of an alcohol problem, and after three years returned to the reserve to try his hand at another occupation. After two years he moved back to Toronto for a change of pace. He has now lived in Toronto for four years. He still suffers from an alcohol problem, lives on the streets, has no intention of finding housing, and seldom works.

These are only four of the many kinds of possible life experiences facing Native people as they migrate and settle in urban locations. This migration is a steadily-increasing phenomenon which is showing no signs of levelling off. There are obviously many different responses to urban living, both in terms of meeting needs and general satisfaction. There is, however, increasing evidence that Native people have special needs because of their economic origins, cultural differences and social image.

The purposes of this section are:

- to describe the social and economic conditions of Native respondents as reflected by the statistical indicators that compare Native and general Ontario populations;
- to convey the impact of these social and economic conditions as they are reflected in the experiences of Native respondents;
- to suggest, through a selective examination of Native respondents' accounts of their experiences, the possible cause of these conditions;
- to place these conditions and experiences in perspective by describing current and future demographic conditions, including the numbers and distributions of Native respondents in urban settings, the factors affecting migration, and future estimates.

The section begins with descriptions of problems and conditions, and concludes with population characteristics. It is assumed that by describing social and population conditions in this sequence, the particular planning significance of factors like unemployment, limited education and inadequate housing will be highlighted by the anticipated future trends of Native urban settlement. The section will examine the responses of government to Native people in urban environments, in terms of their policy and program-planning efforts, and in terms of problems experienced in carrying out policies and programs. If the theme of the current section is "What are the conditions and problems?", then the next section asks "What is government doing to address these problems?"

The experience of mobility

Among other reasons, Native respondents move around the province mainly to find jobs and enhance their employability through obtaining a better education. Despite great expectations, the process of migrating can be quite frustrating. It is characterized by limited finances, unhappy experiences with urban institutions and general unfamiliarity (Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol. II).

When we came down to Moosonee, we both hoped that things would work out for us, but it doesn't look like that at all. We'll probably be leaving as soon as I get some money some place. We went to Welfare and she told me that we'll have to wait a little while for our application to be approved. It sure took a while for them to even get us some to carry us through. It was a piece of paper (a voucher). I think they should have been more open to try and help us. It felt like we were in another country. I didn't feel too good after I left that place.

The city is a rough and tough place if you don't know anyone. The reserve bands should educate people before moving to the city because of the different environment they will live in.

From a fieldworker's summary of Toronto interviews:

Disorientation to the City

Nearly all of those interviewed expressed their opinions of the city. Many commented on the concrete environment, and not being able to be close to "Mother Earth". People found it unfriendly, dirty, and too big. "The city was never made for Indian people." Upon arrival to the city most were confused, and unfamiliar with services available. Most find the city undesirable but stay because of employment.

It was the opinion of one that "living in the city is just a means to an end. It's no place to call home.

It's just a place to make it big."

It was also expressed that Toronto should have more housing units like Anduhyaun. When people come from the reserves into the city, "most don't have any money and no place to sleep." Life on skid row can be hard if you're not streetwise.

Moving to the city, when you are a single person with no relatives in the city, was also said to be difficult. It was the opinion that most single people who don't have relatives here are unfamiliar with the city.

These quotations from interviews and fieldworkers' notes reveal themes that appear again and again in Task Force research: a frustrating gap between hope and reality, limited funds, exasperating experiences with urban institutions and inexperience with big city life.

Many Native respondents miss the elements of Native culture when moving, particularly to the larger cities. For those making a north-to-south move, the social patterns and pace of life of small northern towns is probably missed also. For those with few resources, the poverty may travel right along with them.

Simultaneously, prejudice and discrimination may diminish already scarce opportunities for desirable positions. Success or failure in obtaining employment may be determined by forces largely outside the individual's control.

Despite differences in backgrounds and the differences in previous communities, there are certain problems identified by most Native respondents:

- inadequate housing,
- unemployment,
- limited education,
- alcohol abuse.
- lack of cultural aware- discrimination.

The inter-relation of these six core problems increases the impact of each separate problem on people's lives. Those with few resources at the outset get caught in a cycle of poverty from which it is very difficult to escape. For Natives caught in this cycle, escape is handicapped by their sense of difference; escaping into a non-Native lifestyle isn't always an attractive alternative.

In the case of Native respondents in Ontario, we see strong desires to obtain and maintain decent housing which is warm in winter, has proper water pressure, etc., and to have enough money to feed and clothe themselves and their families. To do this, they need jobs and this often means moving to areas where housing costs are high. Some choose to get more education before seeking jobs, but others seek new or better jobs directly.

Alcohol abuse, cultural differences, and discrimination minimize the possibility of success for Native respondents. These three barriers to satisfactory housing, employment, and education in the non-Native environment affect different people in different ways. Some must deal with alcohol abuse in their own homes; some only have to deal with discrimination based on the negative stereotype of "the drunken Indian".

Cultural awareness is very important to some Natives and they participate in as many events as possible. Native agency staff are probably more involved in organizing events and activities, and so it has more importance for many of them. People in the community are less likely to be involved and some do not even come into contact with other Natives on a daily basis.

Following one's cultural background is a twoedged sword, however, since Indian ways (although psychologically comfortable and often adaptive) are not always best for dealing with a society that has control of the desired resources. Sharing your rented house, for example, can get you evicted.

Discrimination will affect highly visible and identifiable Natives more than others. Different social situations produce more prejudice and discrimination patterns than others. Size and activity levels of the group in a town may affect the degree of visibility, and the degree of stereotyping, of the individual member.

In addition to problems in these six areas, difficulties were identified in making the transition to urban living, in finding and using recreational opportunities, and in involvements with the justice system. Task Force research also detailed health and nutritional problems, and special problems facing urban Native youth, women and senior citizens. Starting with the central issues, each of the above will be discussed in turn.

The approach in discussing these distinct but interdependent subject areas is to describe them one by one, starting with the two most important reasons for migration to the city — education and employment. Housing problems arise as a consequence of moving. Alcohol abuse is seen as a consequence of not finding employment, educational or training opportunities. The following discussion is designed to provide selected data. It allows comparisons with the general population, and thereby makes inferences concerning comparative quality of life issues. Also, the discussion suggests the impact that such life conditions have on Native respondents, and possible explanations for these conditions.

Education

Previous studies of Native education in both Ontario and elsewhere have documented: a very high early drop-out rate for Native children and a resulting lower educational level, when compared to the general population (see Table 1).

Although this lower level of educational achievement is seen by Natives as a serious handicap for an individual's employment future,

more exposure to existing schools in the province is a risk to one's Native identity.

We need ... a lot more teachers who are more clued into Native people. There needs to be more awareness.

... none of the prescribed curriculum is geared to understanding the problem of Native people within a white man's environment.

I was always interested in what happened a long time ago around here. But instead, they taught of voyageurs from somewhere else, not here. They taught other countries and people. I wasn't interested in that. They taught us about their culture. I asked about something that happened in this area about 200 years ago, and the teacher said that was just a little thing.

Causes for both early school-leaving and loss of Native identity are generally attributed to the gap between Native culture and non-Native school systems.

This gap, or conflict, between the school as an institution and Native culture and social situations can be described on a number of different dimensions:

- a curriculum that stereotypes Native people and also ignores their distinctive history and traditions;
- training that doesn't include basic life skill development;
- teaching styles and an organization for learning that are incompatible with the learning style of Native children;
- insensitivity of teachers to psychological reactions to an alien school system, and the burdens of leaving home.

Table 1

Educational attainment of the Native and total populations in Ontario

Highest educational level attained	Native populati	ion			General Ontario population ⁵
	NCB 1979 ¹	NCC 1976 ²	ONWA 1978 ³	Task Force 1980 ⁴	
No education	4.6%	3.5%	_	5.2%	_
Elementary (1-8)	37.3%	41.9%	37.4%	25.5%	23%
Secondary (9-13)	52.9%	54.6%	49.6%	48.1%	46%
College/university	5.0%		12.9%	20.8%	31%

- 1. Calculated from all MNSI respondents age 15 and over (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1981).
- Calculated from all MNSI respondents age 15 and over (Native Council of Canada / Canada Employment and Immigration, 1977).
- 3. Calculated from all respondents age 18 and over (Ontario Native Women's Association, 1980).
- The larger percentage of better-educated people in the Task Force study results is due to the greater number of status Indians in the sample.
- 5. Calculated from 1976 census.

This mismatch makes it difficult for a Native child to stay interested in school, to learn, grow and develop a strong self-image. In addition to these factors. Native people are often denied full access to school because of their financial situation. As pointed out in Table 2, financial hardships were frequently-indicated educational problems, since limited funds either interrupted schooling, or postponed the continuation of studies. However, it is the feelings of alienation and marginality that come through most strongly in the following quotations from interviews:

(Schools need) further sensitizing to the learning style of Native people and their need for moral sup-

Education can and should be used as a positive tool to enhance goals as self-determining/self-governing Indians.

The education system isn't sensitive to Native students in many secondary schools. They should take the time to listen to the student's problems, and understand his or her needs. They shouldn't push them around, especially to make them take the subjects they don't need.

The teacher threatened one of my children, even going to the length of claiming the authority to bar them in any school in Ontario. The teachers in this one particular school are not sensitive to Native students. This might have a bearing on the high drop-out rate. I transferred one child to another school where things have changed much for the better.

While it is usual in the education area to see the problems in terms of the symptoms and solutions. Native respondents who talked to Task Force researchers were more basic in their descriptions of the problem. Those commenting specifically on problems with education touched upon

... the experience of being an identifiable Native in the non-Native system and the feelings

There exists both subtle and overt discrimination, as characterised by cruel remarks made by teachers and students, insensitivity to Native learning patterns, a feeling of invisibility as if one did not count, and of being unable to establish oneself as a unique person because of the Native

I had the feeling that the teachers did not care for me. Non-Native kids called me names in public school. In high school, white kids beat me up.

Teachers tend to discipline Native students harshly. Sometimes they get the strap for nothing, without waiting for an explanation or calling the parents.

Table 2

Education problems experienced by Native respondents

Problems Invisibility/minority status; discrimination, insensitivity by teachers/students 91 25 Marginality/alienation Financial difficulties Schools unavailable, too far, or academically 39 inadequate 22 Personal circumstances interrupted schooling

(Source: Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume 11) Differences in learning styles lead to Natives

being labelled as slow learners. These are the many ways in which this and other labels implying inferiority are communicated to the children, leading to a sense of marginality and alienation.

I always felt that my teachers did not understand me and my ways.

In secondary and adult education, distance, cost and personal factors interrupt and often prevent many people's plans for education and training. Housing problems of out-of-town students, lack of urban orientation of the reserve Native and difficulties in relating to non-Native counsellors were also given high priority.

Employment

The major motivation for people moving to urban centres is lack of jobs in smaller centres and on reserves. The job picture in the cities is not much better and unemployment rates are quite high for those with minimal education (see Urban Natives and Their Communities, Vol II, pg. 47).

Native people experience much higher unemployment rates than the general population

(Table 3).

The several sources of information in the Task Force studies all agreed that employment was one of the main problems for Native respondents, particularly those who are middle-aged and over (see Table 5). The possibility of obtaining a good job motivates people to get more education and/ or to migrate. Not finding a good job is also the largest source of failure for many Native respondents and this situation is believed to cause alcohol abuse and ill effects in their families.

Table 3

Indications of the extent of unemployment among male and female Native people, using information from several surveys

	Unemployment Rates ¹			
	Total	Male	Female	
Total Ontario population, 1977 ²	7.0%	5.9%	8.6%	
Metis and non-status Indians NCC/CEIC, 1976 ³	31.5%	31.5%	31.4%	
Metis and non-status Indians, NCB, 1978 ⁴	23.1%	21.5%	26.4%	
	Percentage "No	nt presently en	mployed''	
Task Force sample, 1980 ⁵ N = 489	49.3%	43.0%	54.2%	

Traditional ways of earning a living are disappearing with few economic alternatives being found in the same geographic areas. Where jobs exist, Native respondents are often blocked from obtaining them by a lack of formal qualifications or discrimination.

These realities are reflected in the Task Force comparisons of "not employed" rates in towns and cities of different sizes. Smaller towns have fewer economic opportunities, and their Native inhabitants tend to have lesser educational qualifications.

Although the rates are high everywhere, Native respondents living in towns with less than 5,000 people have higher "not employed" rates than people in larger towns and cities (Table 4).

Table 4

Not employed rates of Native respondents in Ontario by size of town/city

	Not presently employed			
Population Size	Number	Percentage	Total in sample	
Under 5,000	72	56.7%	127	
5,000 to 12,000	41	45.1%	91	
40,000 to 125,000	57	49.6%	115	
200,000	42	43.3%	97	

(Source: Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume 11)

- Unemployment rates: the number of unemployed persons as a per cent of the labor force. For a particular category (age, sex, marital status, etc.), it is the unemployed in that category expressed as a per cent of the labor force for that group.
- 2. Definitions of employed and unemployed vary for each population in this table and these definitions have an effect on the rates. The definitions for the Total Ontario population survey are the most restrictive. One has to have a specific reason for not looking for a job or have searched for one in the week before the survey to be considered "unemployed". Those who haven't looked in the last week are "voluntarily idle", and are not counted in the unemployment rate.
- NCC definitions are almost as restrictive although the job search period is four weeks, hence fewer people would be defined as "voluntarily idle".
- 4. NCB definitions define only housewives as "voluntarily idle", but they surveyed only 20 to 65-year-olds.
- The Task Force survey did not attempt to distinguish between "voluntary" or "involuntary" unemployment. Our unemployed category includes all those in the survey who are not presently employed (including self-employed).

Table 5

Unemployment rates, by age summary, for MNSI population

(NCC Survey, NCB Survey, and total Ontario population)

Population	Age group	Unemployment rate
Total Ontario	Total	7.0%
population	15-24	13.0%
1977	25-44	5.3%
	45 +	4.3%
MNSI ¹	Total	31.2%
NCC/CEIC	14-24	42.6%
1976	25-44	23.0%
	45-64	29.7%
	65 +	57.1%
MNSI ¹	Total	23.1%
NCB	20-29	26.2%
1978	30-39	16.2%
	40-49	19.0%
	50-65	33.6%
		Not employed
Task Force	Total	50.4% (n = 427)
urban sample	15-19	46.8%
1980	20-29	44.4%
	30-39	39.6%
	40-49	45.1%
	50-64	65.4%
	65 +	96.4%

^{1.} For further information on definitions of these populations see Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings, 1981.

When Native respondents with little education do find jobs, the wages are often too low or other employment conditions present problems.

I work on jobs no one else wants.

Native people want good jobs the same as anyone else. A lot of Natives are quite talented and can learn quite well and would like to be more than laborers, guides, millworkers, and bushworkers. They would also like to be electricians, plumbers, lawyers, doctors, etc.

There's only part-time or labor jobs. I guess if I had a skill I could get a full-time job.

One woman's husband was not able to find a job in Sarnia and had to leave the Sarnia area to find work. He could only come home on weekends. He had difficulty using the Manpower service while in Sarnia, because he did not have a telephone and had to use a reserve number to take messages. Now he must return to the city to apply for a job referred by Manpower and the jobs are usually gone. The family may relocate too. (From a fieldworker's report.)

It is obvious to assume that people with less-skilled jobs, facing job insecurity or temporary work will have lower incomes. This was confirmed in Task Force studies (Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume II, pg. 14). Money is a generalized resource allowing people to pursue their chosen quality of life *and* to better avail themselves of specific resources such as training, recreation, and good food. Limited finances, as an explanation for limited resource use, appears again and again in Task Force studies.

Income levels of Native people in Ontario are significantly lower than for the general population.

Annual family incomes of half of the Task Force sample are less than \$7,000.

Housing

Along with unemployment, income, educational, and alcohol problems, the lack of good affordable housing is one of the most serious problems facing the urban Native respondents. Despite government's efforts, in conjunction with Native organizations, housing was identified as among the most serious of unmet needs by Native organization staff (... Key Informant Study*, 1981) and among the top five most frequently mentioned problems facing Native respondents (Urban Natives and Their Communities, Vol II).

Although few previous studies of Native housing have been done, it is likely that

home ownership is much less usual for Native people than for the total population.

The difficulties associated with obtaining and remaining satisfied with housing can be described within three major dimensions: access, adequacy, and quality. As a general statement, it can be said that many Native people find it difficult to obtain housing, and those that do frequently complain of inadequate and poor quality conditions.

Native respondents' access to housing is limited by the objective shortage of housing, discrimination by landlords, limited finances, and information about housing availability. The shortages of housing are real and the consequences for people in all parts of the province are very painful.

There are not enough existing houses to accommodate our people.

People are desperate for housing and will take almost anything no matter how high the rents.

In particular, there is a housing shortage for special sub-groups of Native people, including senior citizens, transients, those in crisis, and students (... Key Informant Study, 1981). In the

Table 6
Total annual personal income

	Task Force 19801	Ontario 1978 ²
Less than \$7,000	229 (57.2%)	242,252 (7.3%)
\$7,000-\$11,000	86 (21.5%)	792,434 (23.9%)
\$11,001-\$17,000	59 (14.8%)	1,065,508 (32.2%)
Over \$17,000	26 (6.5%)	1,210,621 (36.6%)
	445 (100.0%)	3,310,815 (100.0%)

^{1.} Respondents are aged 15 and over and include some non-employed dependents.

^{2.} Individuals filing a tax return for 1978 in Ontario.

^{*} Urban Native Resource Needs and Service Assessment: A Key Informant Study

Table 7

Housing tenure for Ontario off-reserve status Indians, MNSI and total Ontario population 1977-1980

<u>Tenure</u>	Ontario MNSI (mostly northern) NCB 1978	Ontario MNSI and status off-reserve ONWA 1978	Task Force Survey 1980	Total Ontario Population 1977
Own	60.1%	25.0%	21.4%	66.5%
Rent	38.3%	61.0%	73.6%	33.5%
Other ¹	_	10.0%	5.0%	
Unknown	1.6%	4.0%	_	_
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

^{1.} Includes living with parents, other family, etc.

Table 8

People reporting different personal incomes who pay rent or mortgage

	Persona	l Income						
Type of payment		Less than \$7,000		\$7,000- \$11,000		\$11,001- \$17,000		Over \$17,000
Rent	157 (78.1%)	54	(71.1%)	45	(77.6%)	13	(54.2%)
Mortgage	25 (12.4%)	18	(23.7%)	9	(15.5%)	11	(45.8%)
Other	19 (9.5%)	4	(5.3%)	4	(6.9%)	0	(0.0%)
Total	201 (100.0%)	76	(100.1%)	58	(100.0%)	24	(100.0%)

(Source: Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume II)

case of senior citizens, for example, the increasing proportion of people living to older ages (see demography section), added to the conditions found on reserves, may create particular housing problems.

More and more Native people tend to retire to the city ... Their reserves lack the daily necessities to care for the old.

People 75 to 90 years old live as cave people did a thousand years ago. They do not have hydro, water, or toilets in their shacks.

Discrimination by landlords has been identified as among the most serious problems facing Native respondents (see later section on discrimination, and Urban Natives and Their Communities, Vol. II, 1981).

If a landlord says, "come and see the place," when they see you're Native, they say, "it's rented already." Native respondents, because of cultural traditions and possibly as a means of coping economically (Guillemin, 1975), as well as supporting their migrant friends and relatives, share their homes and other material resources. The reluctance of certain landlords to accept this practice is supported by provincial legislation. In addition, in some locations, landlords simply hold negative attitudes towards Native people.

The comparatively low income levels and high unemployment rates among Native respondents emerge as perhaps the most serious limiting condition in obtaining satisfactory housing. This situation is confirmed by information from both Native organizational staff (... Key Informant Study) and community Natives themselves.

Due to a lack of work in the area, it is hard to get financing.

Some people (landlords) in this town charge all that the traffic will bear.

Native respondents often have to use a large portion of their limited incomes to pay for their housing (Table 9). As expected, those with higher incomes are in a better position to buy a house, although it is only when personal incomes exceed \$17,000 that Native home ownership levels begin to approach those of the general population (Table 8).1

What do Native respondents themselves think of their housing costs? Although housing was identified as a serious general problem, most of those currently possessing housing believe that their rents or mortgages are fair. As might be expected, this perception of fairness is affected by the proportion of one's family income paid towards housing. Housing costs seem particularly difficult for those paying over \$200 a month but earning *less* than \$11,000 (Table 9).

A final limiting factor in Native respondents' efforts to obtain housing, reflected in Task Force measures of resource and information needs (... Key Informant Study; Urban Natives and Their Communities), is their limited access to *information* about existing accommodations and programs (see

Section 5 for a detailed discussion).

Turning now to the adequacy of housing for urban Native people, over one-third of Native respondents report *limited space* as a critical feature of their housing (Table 10).

I just couldn't find a place for quite some time. When I did find a place, it was too small for my family.

Part of the reason for this is that the average household composition for Natives in Ontario was about 3.6 in 1978, compared to 3.1 for all of Ontario's population in 1977. The difference reflects the larger family size of the Native sample and a

- 1. Because of low numbers, this statistic must be interpreted with caution.
- 2. This information is not comparable to the more precise methods of measuring "affordability" in housing surveys. One Task Force research project attempted to determine affordability using recommended quantitative survey methods from other studies. However, in the tradition of participatory research, Native members of a core research team were consulted on the acceptability of the recommended measures from a Native perspective. These measures were flatly rejected because they required detailed knowledge of income and rent or mortgage payments, something that Native people are reluctant to provide. This reluctance has been confirmed in other studies.

Table 9

People with different family incomes, paying varying amounts of rent or mortgage, who feel that it is high or fair

A. Family income under \$11,000

Feel	Rent or mortg	age per month			
payment is	\$0-\$	199	Over \$200		Total
High	25 (21.4	1%) 30	(63.8%)	55	(33.5%)
Fair	92 (78.6	5%) 17	(36.2%)	109	(66.5%)
Total	117 (100.0	0%) 47	(100.0%)	164	(100.0%)

B. Family income \$11,000-\$17,000

Feel	Rent or mortgage per	month	
payment is	\$0-\$199	Over \$200	Total
High	6 (17.6%)	12 (42.9%)	18 (29.0%)
Fair	28 (82.4%)	16 (57.1%)	44 (71.0%)
Total	34 (100.0%)	28 (100.0%)	62 (100.0%)

C. Family income \$17,000 or over

Feel	Rent or mortgage per month			
payment is	\$0-\$199	Over \$200	Total	
High	3 (10.7%)	12 (24.5%)	15 (19.5%)	
Fair	25 (89.3%)	37 (75.5%)	62 (80.5%)	
Total	28 (100.0%)	49 (100.0%)	77 (100.0%)	

tendency for more non-family household formations among Natives compared to the over-all On-

tario population.

In addition to space, other aspects of housing quality in Native homes troubles large numbers of Native respondents. Plumbing problems lead the list of complaints, followed by inadequate insulation, appearance, wiring and need for repairs (Table 10).

Senior citizens are usually living alone without water or sewage, which makes life hard.

Some Native people have their own homes, but

they are badly in need of repairs.

... the bathroom bowl leaked; the wind would blow through the opening in the door and around the windows and it was cold during the winter.

Ceilings leaking and caving in every time it rains: roaches - landlord says, "they won't kill you."

More housing quality problems are reported in the northwest than in other parts of the province.

Government has responded to the housing needs of urban Natives by providing housing programs. Unfortunately, certain problems have been experienced in these programs. (Problems are reviewed

in the Impact section.)

In summary, the housing reality for off-reserve Native respondents in Ontario reflects, in part, the economic status of this population. While improvements to the housing stock would help with concerns about poor quality, the longer-term solutions seem to rest in economic opportunity and development. The responses of government in the housing field, and selected problems in program implementation will be reviewed in later sections.

Alcohol Abuse

Previous writings on the use of alcohol by Native people have not provided detailed descriptions and explanations of alcohol use or its consequences for urban Native people. Despite this, some good beginnings have been made including:

- recent important theoretical work; this emphasizes socio-economic and cultural stress factors, consequences for Native and non-Native relations, the circular effects of alcohol abuse, personal and public problems, and the function of skid-row drinking for some Native people;
- the debunking of numerous myths about Natives and alcohol consumption; these include: "Indians cannot hold their liquor", "Indian alcoholism rates are high", and "alcoholism is the main Indian problem"

(Native People in Urban Settings: A Literature Review, 1981)

Throughout previous research on alcohol use and Native people, it has never been perfectly clear whether alcohol use only exists as a "problem" in public thinking and is, in a sense, a white man's perceptual problem, or whether Native use of alcohol is objectively greater or different than that of non-Native people. Task Force research, however, clearly shows that alcohol abuse is recognized as a serious problem by, and among, urban Native respondents.

This perception was more prevalent in northwestern cities and towns.

Many theories have been advanced to "explain" the use of alcohol by Native people, including those that emphasized physiological, cultural, and

Table 10 Quality of housing

Type of housing quality problem	Number of people reporting a problem	Percentage of those who reported
Plumbing	127	(33.5%)
Size	127	(33.5%
Insulation	125	(32.9%
Appearance	104	(27.3%
Wiring	89	(23.4%
Location	79	(20.6%)
Floors	79	(20.6%)
Layout and structure	62	(17.0%
Services Services	64	(17.0%

sociological factors. Native respondents, however, clearly see social conditions as causing alcohol abuse among their people.

A point that was consistently made throughout Task Force studies was that alcohol abuse should be viewed as a symptom of urban Native social conditions, particularly in the areas of unemployment, limited education, inadequate housing, and discrimination.

Alcohol abuse was also seen to result from peer pressures and the lack of social and recreational opportunities for Native youth. A number of negative consequences of alcohol abuse were identified: fighting, involvement with the law, removal of children from the family, violence, and personal and family crisis. Finally, many Native organizational staff members, discussing the problems of Native women and youth, commented on the prevalence of alcohol abuse.

People don't respect it when you try to quit drinking — they tease you. It's good to have someone with you.

When you have nothing to work for, you figure, "what the heck."

Of particular note is the possible circular effects of alcohol abuse on other urban Native respondents' problems, particularly unemployment, negative public images and discrimination, and trouble with the law. It is known, for example, that most Native legal infractions involve alcohol-related crimes (Task Force Literature Review).

Cultural Awareness

Previous writings have noted the desire for a Native identity among urban Natives in Ontario and across Canada. Signs of this desire are: Native events, newspapers, cultural awareness programs, strong desires for Native children to learn their own languages, participation in Native organizations, visits to reserves for cultural activities, etc. Accompanying these activities is the notion that it is not an easy task to retain a sense of being Native while living in an urban environment.

Despite the variation in Native cultural background, there was a considerable need expressed for cultural awareness. This concern takes a number of different directions in urban Native thinking. On the one hand, for many Native respondents, a good quality of life involves the continuation of such traditional practices as powwows, Native crafts, drumming and dancing,

eating traditional Native foods, and observing familiar spiritual values. There is, as well, strong support for the recovery of Native heritage through opportunities for learning Native history, language, and cultures. Of equal importance, though, is that non-Native society should reflect an awareness and a sensitivity to Native culture and traditions. This shift would require more than attitudinal changes, although they remain important in themselves; over one-fifth of Ontario residents apparently hold negative images of one kind or another (Price, 1978). Fundamental structural changes and reinforcements are wanted, such as broader-based inclusion of Native studies in school curricula and elimination of negative images from the mass media. Human service organizations were criticized for their lack of cultural sensitivity in both their service criteria and staff-client relations. More will be said about this, and suggested solutions, in later sections.

The importance of cultural awareness to Native respondents is reflected in the weight it received, along with such basic needs as housing, employment, and education. There were two sets of findings. One was drawn from Native agency staff sample responses and the other from community sample responses. When asked to identify the most serious needs still unmet in their communities, 15 per cent of the staff responses identified those related to the enhancement of cultural awareness, particularly:

- children and youth programs,
- community friendship and resource centres.
- dancing and drum instruction,
- language classes,
- Native arts and crafts,
- pride and self-awareness,
- spiritual and traditional needs information.

(... Key Informant Study, 1981)

When non-staff members of the Native community were asked to name the most serious problem facing themselves or other Native people in their community, nearly one-quarter of the over-all sample gave answers related to cultural awareness and Native identity. In northwestern locations this statistic exceeded 40 per cent. In particular, these people made the following points:

- that there was a lack of Native culture and programs to enhance Native culture;
- that knowledge of a Native culture was lacking;
- that in some communities there was limited interest in cultural awareness by Natives;
- that additional barriers to the development of a Native culture were: the educational system,

which transmits non-Native values; the general difficulty in maintaining culture in the city; and the difficulty in knowing the true meaning of cultural awareness by Native and non-Native people.

(Urban Natives and Their Communities, Vol II)

Native agency staff responses reinforced these findings, raising further concerns about the social, political, and economic problems in developing cultural awareness opportunities.

- Friendship centres are heavily involved in serving the socio-economic needs of their people and have little time or resources for building cultural awareness.
- The goals of Native cultural-awareness programs and activities are not clear. Should they emphasize traditional Native culture or build an emerging culture, which bridges the old and the new?
- Although financing is a problem, there is considerable apprehension over sharing control of Native cultural content with government. On the other hand, a lack of government support is viewed by some as a sign that government is encouraging assimilation rather than a strong Native community.

In meetings with Native agency staff, 14 out of 20 meetings involved discussions of cultural awareness issues (... Key Informant Study, 1981).

What are the implications of cultural awareness for Native people? A content analysis of some lengthier and more thoughtful discussions revealed the following themes:

• The twin themes of cultural and identity "loss", which threaten the "survival" of an indigenous people.

For Native people in the city, staying Indian is very difficult. If you don't stay Indian, socially, in your leisure time, you become nothing and fail.

• The importance of cultural awareness and the psychology of pride and identity.

Cultural awareness is important to the Native students to help retain self-identity.

• The importance of cultural awareness to the individual's *goals* and *purposes*.

Indian people need to find out who they are; it can help them find out what they want ...

• Native cultural awareness can help them make *contributions* to society.

Only by remembering who we are (culture) and gaining knowledge of academic skills (education) and personal care (health and nutrition) can we live in the modern world with the pride and confidence to contribute positively.

• Cultural awareness is interdependent with other facets of Native life.

There can be little long-term improvement in Native family life, employment, etc., until there is a broad and profound basis for cultural pride and personal identity.

Language is an important part of cultural awareness.

Strong self-identity is crucial to one's life, and intimate familiarity with one's culture, particularly language, is the key to this identity.

As a result of the considerations in this and later sections, two hypotheses may be advanced:

- that lack of cultural sensitivity in the dominant institutions makes it difficult for Native people to avail themselves of urban resources;
- that one solution to the alienation, problems, and frustrations experienced by many Natives is the recovery or reinforcement of Native culture.

This last hypothesis should *not* suggest that the recovery of Native culture has *only* problem-solving values, for it is clear that cultural awareness is important for its own sake. Nevertheless, it also seems true that the *meaning* of cultural awareness is becoming increasingly complex for many Natives, while providing some basic stability to lives otherwise under stress.

Discrimination

The paper, Strangers in Our Own Land, identified discrimination against Native people as a significant factor in impeding their integration into urban communities.

This observation was confirmed in Task Force studies.

What are the areas of living in which a sense of discrimination occurs?

The Task Force survey shows that discrimination is most likely experienced when trying to obtain housing or employment, in involvements with the justice system, and in the educational system.

Also mentioned, but less frequently, were instances of discrimination encountered in social welfare and other agencies, retail and financial institutions, health care systems, public facilities, and government discrimination between status and

non-status Indians (Urban Natives and Their Communities, 1981)

Individual discriminatory behavior should be distinguished from institutional discrimination. The latter may be defined simply as those operating techniques and criteria for judgment that discriminate against racial, cultural, religious or other groups (Hill, Daniel G., in The Ideology of Social Problems by Reason and Perdue, 1981.)

Native agency staff members give some insight into those practices or organizational characteristics that develop a sense of institutional discrimination. In summary, these are:

- a lack of understanding of the differences between Native and non-Native cultures and needs;
- language barriers;
- lack of staff training in the provision of suitable service to Native people;
- passing Native students before successful completion of grades;
- insufficient programs available to Native people;
- stereotyping;
- eligibility criteria that often do not favor Native people (e.g. housing program residence requirements,¹ jobs given to better trained non-Natives²);
- lack of Native culture and history in school curricula;
- the myth that Native people are treated well, which leads to non-response to Native needs;
- lack of Native staff.

Other Problems

In addition to the central problems just mentioned, a number of other troublesome issues were identified. These were commented on by members of the Native community as well as by staff members of the Native organizations. Each of these will be described in turn.

Recreation

A recently-completed Toronto study concluded that the problems related to limited recreational opportunities were not given as high a priority by the Native study participants as the need for cultural awareness programs. Those finding recreation a problem criticized the limited choice and poor quality of recreation as well as the limited

opportunities for adult recreational sports. Although most children of Native people in this sample were involved in non-Native programs, their parents expressed a clear preference for Native-run sports and recreation, particularly if the staff and program quality in Native organizations were improved (Bobiwash and Malloch, 1980).

Task Force studies partially concurred with these findings. Over one-quarter of the community sample mentioned such recreation-related problems as:

- lack of recreational facilities for children, families and seniors;
- need for more sports activities for Native people;
- lack of a meeting place for Native people;
- expense of available facilities.
 (Urban Natives and Their Communities, 1981)

The limited recreational opportunities for Na-

tive youth and senior citizens was a consistentlyexpressed problem.

The remaining conditions, although they were considered serious problems by many, do not emerge as central in the discussion of conditions facing Native respondents. This is mainly because:

- some problems are primarily specifications for certain groups of Native people (e.g. senior citizens, women, youth, families and children) for such previously-discussed issues as unemployment, limited education and recreational opportunities;
- other problems, such as discrimination in the justice system, insensitivity in social welfare offices, or the removal of children by child welfare agencies from the Native community, are special instances of a social condition (institutional discrimination) having a particularly strong presence in certain institutions.

For these reasons the remaining problems* are summarized as follows:

Senior citizens

- lack of social and recreation integration into the community;
- lack of adequate housing;
- difficulties in maintaining independence because of inadequate home care (e.g. medical assistance, food, social work, etc.).

^{1.} The residence requirements on government housing programs have now been lifted.

For a discussion of "credentialism" as one form of institutional discrimination in hiring practices, see Jain, 1977. Reviewed in the Task Force's Native People in Urban Settings: A Literature Review.

More detailed discussions of these conditions can be found in Urban Native Resource Needs and Service Assessment: A Key Informant Study; and Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol. II.

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- over-representation of Native people in prison;
- difficulties with the law (associated with employment hardships, alcohol abuse, reserve/legal system, segregation, limited knowledge of legal system, cultural differences, poor Native community/police relations);
- unfair treatment in legal system (police harassment, discriminatory penalties, difficulties in paying fines) (Jolly, 1981).

Family and children

- certain cultural family structures (e.g. large households) and child-rearing practices (e.g. involvement of non-family members as child-rearing agents) that may lead to problems for urban Native respondents when attempting to use community resources (see Native People in Urban Settings: A Literature Review, 1981);
- the unemployment situation, alcohol abuse and poor housing, viewed as particularly serious causes of problems in some Native families (... Key Informant Study, 1981);
- difficulty of arranging for childcare when Native women go into the labor market (Bobiwash and Malloch, 1980; ... Key Informant Study, 1981);
- discontent with Children's Aid Society for culturally insensitive service practices; for example, many Native children in foster homes, with a higher likelihood that foster home placement is with non-Native families (Hepworth, 1980).

Youth

- tendency for Native youth to drop out of school (see previous discussion of educational conditions);
- lack of social and recreational opportunities for Native youth, a lack of meaningful involvement with adults (role models, life skills, self-esteem).

Women

• unemployment, limited education and skills, limited finances, limited information (legal advice, women's services, birth control, family life and parenting), day care, family violence, single-parent status and depression.

Health Care

- higher incidence of illness, certain kinds of illness (e.g. diabetes) and accidents among Native respondents, and higher use of hospital and other health facilities;
- inadequate diet linked to poor nutritional information, costs, literacy, and in some cases, alcohol abuse;

 difficulty of access to health facilities in many northern cities and towns, including a lack of certain specialists (e.g. dentists, eye specialists).

Social Welfare

- difficulty in using welfare resources, although Native respondents are looking for alternatives to welfare through economic development, training and life skills development:
- a sense of discrimination and insensitivity particularly, among welfare office staff.

In the first part of this section, the major problems of urban Native respondents are described. Knowledge of problems alone is not necessarily helpful for planning purposes, however, unless some basis for estimating the *magnitude* of such problems is provided. To assist in this effort, the remaining part of this report provides estimates of existing and anticipated demographic conditions.

How many Native People live in urban areas?

Understanding the key population characteristics of Native people in urban Ontario (how many? in what areas? with what characteristics?) is a key element in determining future needs for services and programs. Although Task Force researchers found that such information is not easily available, gross estimates indicate that there may be anywhere from 355,000 to 832,000 people of Native ancestry in Ontario — from

Table 11

1. Status Indians

2. Metis and non-status Indians

Estimated population of Native ancestry in Ontario, 1978

(MNSI) core population ¹	50,000 to 94,000
3. MNSI non-core, self-identifying	67,000 to 130,000
4. MNSI non-core, non-self-	
identifying	170,000 to 540,000
5. Total Native population	355,000 to 832,000

68,000

(Source: Demographic Studies of Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981.

^{1.} Core MNSI are those people of Native ancestry who identify closely with their Native heritage, share many characteristics of status Indians, are identified by government agencies as the total MNSI group in need of programs. The non-core, self-identifying MNSI group is aware of its Native heritage, but is part of, or is primarily settled, within non-Native society Some may drift out of the core category, depending on employment conditions, kinship ties, etc., but they are not included in core group government estimates. Non-core, non-self-identifying MNSI consist of people having Native ancestry but not a cultural awareness or affiliation with Native people. According to some estimates, this may be the largest group. Taylor,

four to almost 10 per cent of the total Ontario population. This is substantially larger than government planners have estimated heretofore.

Status Îndians are well defined, with the known Ontario population being 68,000 on and off-reserve. The Metis and non-status population (MNSI) is divided into three groups when estimates are made (Taylor, 1979).

For purposes of estimating the present and future Native *urban* population *that may need services*, the Task Force has made a conservative estimate of 117,000 MNSI for 1978. This does not include those in the non-core, non-self-identifying category.

With this information as background, the Task Force estimate of Natives who may need services in urban areas is 75,500 people.

Table 12

Estimated Native population in need of services in Ontario, by area, 1978

		Total	Off-reserve	Urban
1.	Status Indians	68,000	22,644 (¹ / ₃ of total)	17,000 (75% of off-
				reserve)
2.	MNSI program population	117,000	N/A	58,500 (50% of total)
	Total	185,000		75,500

(Source: Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings, 1981.)

Where do urban Native People live?

Eight cities and towns contain almost 75% of the estimated Native urban population¹ although the proportions are not always high compared to the total population. These cities and towns are: Toronto, Moosonee, Hamilton, Thunder Bay, London, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Catharines and Sudbury (Table 13 on page 29).

When the Native population is divided as a proportion of the total urban population, a different picture emerges. Those centres with populations of 10,000 or more have the following concentrations:

Table 14

Toronto (city)

Native population as a per cent of total urban population (10,000 or more)

5.2%
4.6%
4.6%
4.1%
3.3%

(Source: Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings, 1981.)

3.1%

It should be noted, however, that even though the Toronto estimate is only 3.1 per cent, it still represents a sizable community of more than 20,000 Natives.

Concentration of Natives in communities of less than 10,000 people is much greater, as the following six heavily-concentrated areas indicate:

Table 15

Native population as a per cent of total urban population (Less than 10,000)

Armstrong	51.4
Little Current	36.3
Mattawa	35.3
Red Lake	17.9
Parry Sound	15.1
Fort Frances	15.1

These communities have much larger concentrations, even though the total of all six have only one-fifth of the estimated number of Natives in Toronto. For these smaller communities, the presence of resident Natives is obviously much more evident and is a significant factor in community development planning.

What are the patterns of migration?

Having documented estimates and distribution of Native population living in non-reserve urban settings, attention is now given to patterns of *movement*. The particular focus here is on the physical stability of the Native population and its sub-groups, motivational and other factors affecting mobility, and the immediate social environment or "companionship" of the Native migrant.

These figures are based on crude estimates in many cases. Despite Task
Force efforts to collect estimates from different sources, some of the estimated Native populations are probably quite inaccurate. This fact, along with information on incomplete statistics reported elsewhere in the report, supports the case for improvements in keeping statistics.

Table 13

Distribution of the urban Native population of Ontario by urban centre, 1978

	Estimate of percentage	Estimate of Native	1978 Population	Native population
Centre	distribution	_ population	of centre	as a % of total centre population
Toronto	26.78	20,215	643,667	3.1
Moosonee	9.74	7,352	1,327	*
Hamilton	8.76	6,613	313,632	2.1
Thunder Bay	6.82	5,148	111,415	4.6
London	6.09	4,597	253,702	1.8
Sault Ste. Marie	5.58	4,212	80,505	5.2
St. Catharines	5.35	4,039	124,391	3.3
Sudbury	5.23	3,948	97,317	4.1
Chapleau (Township)	4.87	3,676	3,276	*
Geraldton	4.41	3,329	3,010	*
Ottawa	3.90	2,944	300,388	1.0
North Bay	3.07	2,318	50,398	4.6
Fort Frances	1.82	1,374	9,088	15.1
Mattawa	1.26	951	2,697	35.3
Parry Sound	1.05	793	5,248	15.1
Little Current	.73	551	1,517	36.3
Timmins	.66	498	44,232	1.1
Sioux Lookout	.56	423	3,062	13.8
Atikokan (Township)	.49	370	5,733	6.5
Kenora	.49	370	9,972	3.7
Red Lake	.49	370	2,179	17.0
Windsor	.49	370	197,212	0.2
Dryden	.47	355	6,482	5.5
Armstrong	.34	257	500	51.4
Cochrane	.28	211	4,725	4.5
Kapuskasing	.15	113	12,159	0.9
Wawa (Michipicoten)	.09	68	4,595	1.5
Ear Falls (Township)	.05	38	2,036	1.9
	100.0	75,503		

^{*} Due to the influence of large reserve populations near these centres, the estimates of Native population size exceed the government estimate of the total population of the area. The above distribution indicates that the top five centres (Toronto, Moosonee, Hamilton, Thunder Bay, London) contain just under 60% of the urban Native population in Ontario.

Summarizing the findings from research over the last few years, the following broad conclusions can be drawn:

- Native people over 15 years of age in Ontario have moved an average of five times in a lifetime (see Table 17).
- Comparative statistics over the last 15 years or so indicate that: a) either movement of Natives from community to community is higher in Ontario in comparison to the general Canadian population, or b) that a Native mobility increase
- in Ontario has occurred (Siggner, 1979; Urban Natives and Their Communities, 1981).
- Native people move from community to community for a variety of reasons, the main one being to improve their employment status or education (see Figure 2).
- The largest proportion (40 per cent) of moves made by Native people in a litetume are made alone; other moves are made primarily with the family (see Figure 3).

Table 16

Number of moves in a lifetime

Number of moves	Number of people	Percentage of sample
1 to 2	114	27.6%
3 to 4	118	28.6%
5 to 6	75	18.2%
7 to 9	68	16.5%
10 to 14	29	7.0%
15 or	9	2.2%
more		
	413	100.1%

(Source: Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol. II)

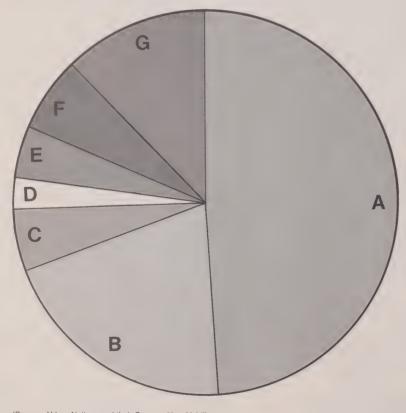
Table 17

Number of inter-community moves between June 1978-80

Number of moves	Number of people	Percentage of sample
None	271	65.1%
One	95	22.8%
Two	30	7.2%
Three	14	3.4%
Four	4	1.0%
Five	2	0.5%
	489	100.0%

(Source: Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol. II)

Figure 2
Native respondents' reasons for moving



(Source: Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol II).

- A Job or employment reasons,796 moves 48.7%
- **B** Other* 332 moves 20.3%
- C Marriage, 82 moves 5.2%
- D Housing, 42 moves 2.6%
- **E** Travel or restlessness,70 moves 4.3%
- F Family breakdown or illness in family, 103 moves 6.3%
- **G** Own education, 206 moves 12.6%

^{*} Other reasons: didn't like present situation; came to visit friend or relative and stayed; enlisted in army; sent to jail; F.L.Q. too dangerous; welfare wouldn't support a minor; etc. (Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol. II).

Reserve characteristics and rates of migration

Apart from personal reasons for migrating, other research gives insights into different rates of migration from different types of reserve situations. One cross-Canada study, for example, found the following:

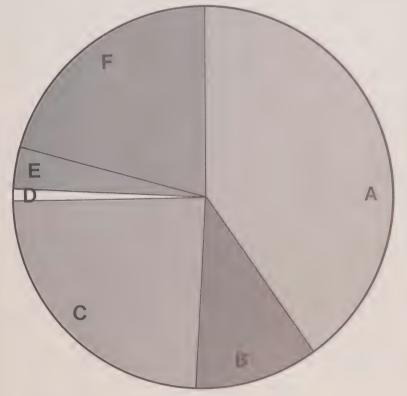
- Higher levels of out-migration from the reserve are related to higher levels of personal resources (i.e. city work experiences, education with non-Natives, ability to speak a non-Native language, familiarity with city and non-Native ways).
- Lower rates of out-migration from reserves occur
- with a higher level of group resources (i.e. resources making the reserve self-sufficient, and in control of its own action and life style: educational system, jobs, local government, hospital, police, fire department, industries and businesses);

- when they are farther from urban centres;
- more with men than women;
- when they are in a prairie location.
- A higher personal resource level results in higher levels of out-migration, *unless* there is an increase in group resources.
- A complete absence of group or personal resources results in the lowest levels of out-migration (Gerber, L., 1977).

Patterns of moves

Although evidence indicates that larger and larger numbers of Native people are being counted in towns and cities, the movement is *not* in one direction. While the over-all trend is to move from smaller, more isolated locations to larger more densely populated towns and cities, there is an alternate pattern (McCaskill, 1979).

Figure 3
Who accompanies Native respondents during migration?



- A Alone, 611 moves 40.4%
- **B** Spouse or partner only, 157 moves 10.4%
- C Spouse and children or children only, 362 moves 24.0%
- D Other, 15 moves 1.0%
- E Friends 54 moves 3.6%
- F Family of origin, 312 moves 20.6%

(Source: Urban Natives and their Communities, Vol. II)

Reserve Natives return to their reserve from time to time, for months or years at a stretch, and often migrate to a city again. The main reasons for this return migration "commuter pattern" are social and cultural in nature.

Characteristics of movers

A Task Force study also showed the following:

- More frequent movers end up in larger-sized cities.
- Men, young people, single people and those with post-secondary education move more often than women, older people, married people or those with high school or less education.
- Metis and non-status Indians move less than status and Treaty* Indians, although the differences are not large and may be because the Task Force sample has status Indians who are more likely to be young and single.
- More frequent movers are more likely to be employed; of those employed, the tendency is for movers to have a higher percentage of fulltime jobs and a higher percentage of temporary or seasonal jobs.
- The higher the income, the greater the likelihood that mobility is higher.

(Urban Natives and Their Communities, Vol II, 1981)

This pattern reflects a migrating population which leaves behind the poorer less-educated group, thus reinforcing their prospects for continued poor economic development.

Demographic forecast

Despite the incompleteness and tentativeness of existing data bases, a conservative projection was made for the Native population in Ontario to the end of the century. This was done in order to have a first glimpse at what future demographic conditions may be expected.

The highlights of these projections (Table 19) are as follows:

- The total Native population of just under 185,000 in 1978 has been projected to increase to 230,000 by 1998 an increase of 45,000 or about 25 per cent.
- The percentage increase of the Native population is projected to be about twice the rate of the Ontario population as a whole.

- The Native labor force age group (15-64) will grow at a rate almost double the total Native population, from 109,175 in 1978 to 156,552 in 1998 an increase of 47,000 or 43.5 per cent (compared to 22 per cent for the Ontario Labor Force Age population).
- Schooling requirements will decline somewhat over the projection period as the total number of youth aged 5-19 declines from 67,000 in 1978 to 56,000 in 1998.
- There will be a drop in the youth dependency group (0-14) which falls from 65,000 in 1978 to 58,000 in 1998. Hence, while in 1978 there were six youth dependents for every 10 Natives of working age, by 1998 this number will have fallen to 3.5 per 10 adults of working age.
- This decline in the youth dependency factor will be offset by an increase in the number of aged (65+), a group that will increase by about 5,000 from 10,700 in 1978 to 15,600 in 1998.
- From a "dependency" standpoint, the future for the Ontario Native population looks optimistic: in 1978, about seven dependents existed for every 10 Native workers whereas by 1998, this may have fallen to as low as five.
- The urban population is projected to increase to 137,655 in 1998, an increase of 62,168 or 82 per cent over the 1978 estimate (Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings, 1981).

Table 19 outlines comparable categories for the urban Native projection as was used in the projections for the *total* Native population. In the urban Native labor force group (15-64), there is an increase in every five-year period, but the rate of increase decreases over the forecast period. However, the rate of decrease in the urban population is much smaller than for the total Native population. For example, the rate of increase in the labor force during the 1978-83 period among urban Natives is 3,035 per year which is only slightly less than the 3,056 per year in total Native population. During the 1993-1998 period, the rate of increase in the labor force age category among urban Natives is forecast to fall to 2,000 per year compared with 1,661 per year for the total Native population.

The school age Native population (5-19) in urban centres declines until 1993 and then begins to increase rapidly. This population declines from a total of 32,600 in 1978 to 30,500 in 1993 or an average of 140 per year over the 15 years. This population then rises to 33,000 by 1998 or at a rate of increase of 500 young people per year.

^{*} See glossary for a definition of Treaty Indian.

Table 18

Total Native population of Ontario forecast by selected demographic characteristics 1978-1998

		1978		1983		1988	,	1993	131163	1998	,
Characteristics		#	%	#	0/0	#	%	#	%	#	%
School age (5-19)	M	33,689	36.2	32,709	33.2	30,621	29.6	28,942	26.7	28,442	25.0
	F	33,070	36.0	31,905	32.4	29,727	28.5	27,851	25.3	27,362	23.6
	T	66,759	36.1	64,613	32.8	60,347	29.1	56,793	26.0	55,804	24.3
				ĺ		,		20,,,2	20.0	22,001	27.5
Child-bearing age	M	43,987	47.2	49,985	50.7	54,531	52.8	57,171	52.7	58,139	51.0
(15-44)	F	43,485	47.3	50,218	51.0	55,466	53.2	58,627	53.2	59,747	51.5
	T	87,472	47.3	100,204	50.9	109,995	53.0	115,796	53.0	117,886	51.3
Labor force age	M	54,918	59.0	62,199	63.1	68,299	66.1	73,456	67.7	77,542	68.0
(15-64)	F	54,257	59.1	66,257	67.3	69,198	66.3	74,790	67.9	79,010	68.1
	T	109,175	59.0	124,456	63.2	137,496	66.2	148,246	67.8	156,552	68.1
Youth dependency	M	33,041	35.5	30,915	31.4	29,280	28.3	28,779	26.5	29,625	26.0
(0-14)	F	32,068	34.9	29,891	30.4	27,952	26.8	27,462	24.9	28,270	24.4
	T	65,108	35.2	60,806	30.9	57,232	27.6	56,241	25.7	57,896	25.2
Age dependency	M	5,142	5.5	5,443	5.5	5,766	5.6	6,202	5.7	6,811	6.0
(65 +)	F	5,557	6.0	6,258	6.4	7,166	6.9	7,938	7.2	8,738	7.5
	T	10,698	5.8	11,700	5.9	12,932	6.2	14,141	6.5	15,549	6.8
Total dependency	M	38,183	41.0	36,358	36.9	35,046	33.9	34,981	32.3	36,436	32.0
(0-14 & 65+)	F	37,625	41.0	36,149	36.7	35,118	33.7	35,400	32.1	37,008	31.9
	T	75,806	41.0	72,506	36.8	70,164	33.8	70,382	32.2	73,445	31.9
Total population	M	93,101		98,556		103,345		108,437		113,979	
	F	91,880		98,406		104,315		110,190		116,018	
	T	184,981	100.0	196,962	100.0	207,660	100.0	218,628	100.0	229,997	100.0

(Source: Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings, 1981.)

Table 19

Urban Native population of Ontario forecast by selected demographic characteristics 1978-1998

		1978		1983		1988		1993		1998	
Characteristics		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
School age (5-19)	M	16,462	44.6	17,484	39.8	16,100	31.4	15,157	25.5	16,519	24.3
	F	16,200	42.0	17,244	37.6	15,843	29.8	15,398	25.3	16,518	23.7
	T	32,662	43.3	34,728	38.7	31,943	30.6	30,555	25.4	33,037	24.0
Child-bearing age	M	15,948	43.2	22,531	51.3	28,656	55.9	33,124	55.8	36,436	53.7
(15-44)	F	17,513	45.4	23,862	52.1	29,175	54.9	33,039	54.2	36,247	52.0
	T	33,461	44.3	46,393	51.7	57,831	55.4	66,163	55.0	72,683	52.8
Labor force age	M	19,898	53.9	27,353	62.3	34,784	67.9	40,811	68.8	46,036	67.8
(15-64)	F	21,640	56.1	29,360	64.0	36,409	68.5	42,795	70.2	47,570	68.2
	T	41,538	55.0	56,713	63.2	71,193	68.2	83,606	69.5	93,606	68.0
Youth dependency	M	15,797	42.8	14,926	34.0	13,981	27.3	15,458	26.1	17,895	26.4
(0-14)	F	15,583	40.4	14,687	32.0	14,203	26.7	15,458	25.4	17,895	25.7
	T	31,380	41.6	29,613	33.0	28,184	27.0	30,916	25.7	35,790	26.0
Age dependency	M	1,218	3.3	1,616	3.7	2,457	4.8	3,056	5.2	3,966	5.8
(65 +)	F	1,351	3.5	1,794	3.9	2,553	4.8	2,718	4.5	4,293	6.2
	T	2,569	3.4	3,410	3.8	5,010	4.8	5,774	4.8	8,259	6.0
Total dependency	M	17,015	46.1	16,542	37.7	16,438	32.1	18,514	31.2	21,861	32.2
	F	16,934	43.9	16,481	35.9	16,756	31.5	18,176	29.8	22,188	31.8
	T	33,949	45.0	33,023	36.8	33,194	31.8	36,690	30.5	44,049	32.0
Total urban	M	36,913	100.0	43,895	100.0	51,222	100.0	59,325	100.0	67,897	100.0
Native population	F	38,574	100.0	45,841	100.0	53,165	100.0	60,971	100.0	69,758	100.0
	T	75,487	100.0	89,736	100.0	104,387	100.0	120,296	100.0	137,655	100.0

(Source: Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings, 1981.)

Dependency among the urban population also declines significantly during the 20-year period. In 1978, there were about eight dependents for every 10 workers.

This ratio falls to 4.4 by 1993 and increases slightly to 4.7 by 1998, slightly less than the ratio calculated for the total Native population in that year. These rates again reinforce the need to take advantage of decreased dependency in the next 10 years within the Native population and provide the needed employment, housing and educational support for the working group.

Summary

An overview of this section indicates the following broad conclusions:

 The problems of Native urban residents are affected by socio-economic conditions of unemployment, limited education, and discrimination. Inadequate housing and alcohol abuse, where they exist, are seen by Native respondents as symptomatic of the economic and social conditions. These constitute the core conditions and problems facing Native respondents, and are confirmed by previous and recent Task Force studies.

- Additional problems of concern to Native respondents are particular examples of the above conditions for certain sub-groups, or within certain institutions.
- Demographic and migration analyses suggest that Native respondents are moving mainly for economic and educational reasons, and that outmigration is heaviest from certain kinds of reserves. Native people are concentrated in certain cities and towns in Ontario, and their movement to urban locations is likely to increase to the end of the century.

Introduction

In the previous section, it was found that at the root of quality-of-life problems facing Native urban dwellers was a series of core issues which were highlighted by economic problems. An interdependence in these problems was also suggested. Some, (like unemployment, the lack of education, and limited income) acted as "core" or causal, while others (like a lack of good housing and abuse of alcohol) served as derivative or "symptomatic" of core problems.

In light of the evidence that these needs/problems exist, and have for some time, this section asks:

- How does the government perceive and respond to the needs?
- How do government representatives view Native needs/problems?
- How does this differ from the Native respondents' problem priorities as established in the previous section?
- What is the discrepancy between perceptions of problems/needs (by government and Natives) and government responses?
- How does one explain these discrepancies?

The government response can be viewed at four levels:

- Does the department have a Native mandate?
- Does the department have Native policies?
- Do the policies result in programs? and/or Are their programs accessible to Natives?
- What *services* in the community reflect these special and general programs?

This section will focus on mandate, policy and program responses at the department or central agency level*. The next section will deal with program and service responses at the community level. Both sections deal with the fit between needs and responses. A lack of fit logically leads to the discussions in this section, and in Section Five, about the reasons for the existing lack of fit.

How does the government perceive and respond to the needs?

Government typically responds to the special needs of the population through the development of special mandates, policies, and special needs programs. To what extent do government ministries and departments recognize *Native people* in their *mandates*? Task Force research found that

just over one-half the people interviewed indicated that no special mandates existed in their ministry or department for Native people (Table 20).

According to their spokespeople, organizations dealing with economic and commercial matters have no *mandate* with respect to Native people (at least at the present), whereas those concerned with culture do. Spokespeople for housing, public assistance, and health tended to deny special responsibility for Native people whereas those in the fields of justice and employment tended to affirm it

People from the same organizations sometimes differed on the question of whether there was any specific mention of Native people in their (own) organization's mandate. This was because some responded in terms of the over-all mandate while others replied with a sub-department in mind.

Policy is defined as "formalized goals and methods" around which organizational activities are structured.

About three-quarters of the government officials contacted said that a policy exists in their organizations with regard to urban Native people, although it was not necessarily stated. Another one-fifth observed that there was no policy on Native people who live in towns and cities. The remaining officials explained that there was no policy for the simple reason that their organizations did not distinguish between urban Natives and non-Natives.

^{*} The main sources of information for this section are Task Force research projects entitled Policy Making and Program Development for Urban Native People and An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People. Data analysis pursued two main issues: a comparison of federal and provincial responses (which proved to be most productive in the examination of government policies), and analysis in terms of "organization focus". The latter approach rested on the assumption that government departments with similar responsibilities (or mandates) have similar interests. They can therefore be grouped together for comparison with other organizational clusters (e.g. the Ministry of Labor and the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission form the cluster titled Employment, Labor Markets; those dealing with correction and justice are combined under Justice, and so on). There are nine such categories: Culture, Recreation, Citizens' Participation; Education; Employment, Labor Market; Health Care; Housing; Justice System; Public Assistance, Family and Social Services; Economic and Commercial Development; General (agencies with multiple and or cross-boundary mandates, and all not covered above).

Table 20

Does your organization have a mandate for Native people?

Organizational focus	Yes	No
1. Culture, recreation, citizens' participation, education	6	0
2. General	3	2
3. Justice	4	3
4. Employment, labor	4	4
5. Environment, natural resources	2	3
6. Health	1	2
7. Public assistance, family and social		
services	1	5
8. Housing	1	6
9. Economic and commercial development	0	4

In the last two or three years, several policy changes have occurred that would, according to government officials, positively affect Native people living in urban settings. The details of a reorientation in organizational policy and the anticipated impacts on Native people are described elsewhere (Policy Making and Program Development for Urban Native People in Ontario, Section II). Most of the indicated policy changes centred on funding priorities, the planning or implementation of programs, program assessment or review, staffing practices, Native involvement in the program planning or implementation process, legal issues or interpretations, and the provision of physical resources.

The effects of policy changes were manifest in generally improved services; shifts in program emphasis or objectives toward better accommodation of Native needs (e.g. flexibility, culturally-appropriate service); increased opportunities for input and participation in program development; greater economic independence for Native people; more funds for Native projects; and generally-improved facilities. Many of the recent changes address needs discussed by Native people in Task Force projects. This shift supports the idea that the impact has yet to be felt and/or that people are unaware of recent government changes. Policies are the forerunners of programs.

There are 64 regular government programs that would apply to Native as well as non-Native people, with 33 special programs designed for Natives in Ontario.

Regular programs and services available to Native People

Basically, the government's position is that all existing services and programs are available to all people, providing they meet specified requirements pertaining to length of residence, personal income, family status, legal status of a group (e.g. non-profit), and so on. No individual or group can be excluded on the basis of cultural background or ethnic affiliation according to the Human Rights code. However, since there is also a multiculturalism policy where it is officially recognized that different cultural or ethnic groups may have different needs, differentiation between groups is permitted where the intent is to give special assistance to certain groups of people.

Native people are frequently classified as "special needs clients" for purposes of resource allocation. There is, however, no uniform policy prescribing that Native people should *always* be designated as such, chiefly because not all Native people are considered to be in need of special assistance. Also, geographic, economic and other factors are usually taken into consideration in the designation of "target" groups. This means that Native people theoretically have access to both regular and specialized types of programs. In practice, however, Native people have been observed to make sporadic use of the regular service delivery system or else are unaware of existing

Government representatives identified regular programs that *they* considered to be of special benefit to Native people in the urban setting. These were:

- 22* employment programs (CMTP, Sole Support Mothers Projects, Creative Job Search Techniques, Outreach, etc.);
- 13 housing programs (Residential Rehabilitation Assistance, Community Resources Organization, Direct Lending, Housing Research and Planning, etc.);
- 9 public assistance, family and social services (Canada Pension Plan, Family Allowance, Child Tax Credit, General Welfare Assistance, etc.);
- 6 cultural, social and organizational development and support (Assistance to Community Groups, Core and Communication Program, Multiculturalism);
- 5 health programs (OHIP, Mobile Dental Coach Programs, Northern Ontario Public Health Service, etc.);

^{*} including a number of programs for women

- 3 economic and regional development programs (General Development Agreement, Regional Development, Incentives, ARDA);
- 2 justice programs (Compliance and Conciliation, Mediation and Prevention Consultation Program);
- 1 education program (Continuing Education);
- 3 other (Occupational Health Services, Environmental Information Services, Testing of Drinking Water.

Special resources for Native People: special government programs for Native People

In addition to regular programs and services, government has responded to the needs of Native people through the provision of special programs. A total of 33 specialized programs and services for Native people were identified through Task Force research. All but five of the specialized programs are available to both status and non-status Indians. Each program provides multiple services. Some of these are administered directly by government (e.g. through counsellors, co-ordinators, etc.). Others are administered by Native organizations who receive government funds to administer and deliver Native programs (e.g. Courtworker Program, Social Counsellors).

Of specialized government programs that are currently available to Native people:

- seven are employment-related;
- five provide residential services (group homes, hostels, etc.);
- another five offer cultural and organizational support, and funds for social development;
- four are educational in orientation;
- four are justice-related;
- four address alcohol problems;
- three are concerned with housing;
- one program is specifically designed for women.

There is considerable overlap in the sponsorship of these programs, with many being funded and/or implemented in partnership with other provincial government ministries, federal departments, municipalities, and non-government agencies.

The following government organizations sponsor special programs for Native people residing in urban areas of Ontario:

Provincial: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (Native Community Branch); Ministry of the Attorney General; Ministry of Correctional Services; Ministry of the Solicitor-General; Ministry of Health; the Addiction Research Foundation; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Community and Social Services; the Government of Ontario which created the Ontario Native Council on Justice, a wholly Native-run organization.

Federal: the Department of the Secretary of State; Canada Employment and Immigration; Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation; Department of Justice (through the provincial Ministry of the Attorney General); and the Public Service Commission.

What do the various specialized programs offer to Native people?

Employment programs have as their general goal the creation of employment opportunities for Native people and the enhancement of individual employability. In an effort to achieve these objectives, a number of support systems have been established including: employment counselling by Native staff; Affirmative Action drives designed to "increase the representation of minorities (with Native people as a priority group) at all levels in the workplace"; career incentives for Native youth (e.g. opportunities for their entry into the Civil Services); special budget allocations reserved for Native people in "economically deprived" communities; various training and re-training options, which can be tailored to suit specific local needs.

Justice programs have been devised to ensure that Native people receive equal treatment in their encounters with the judicial system. The rationale is that Native people frequently find themselves at a disadvantage (both linguistically and conceptually) when it comes to understanding "white' law, especially in its implications for transgressors. Justice programs tend to concentrate on the introduction of Native resource personnel into the system through the vehicles of probation and parole officers, court workers, as well as Native co-ordinators. The intent is to provide increased mediating and support capacity. The function of the Ontario Native Council on Justice is to oversee judicial policy as it relates to Native people, and to recommend changes.

Residential service programs provide crisis relief and rehabilitation services for those urban Native people requiring temporary residential or related support. These are usually privately-run facilities, employing Native personnel, which operate for the benefit of displaced Native people requiring temporary hostel accommodation. They also serve special needs groups such as youth under official custody, inmates, ex-inmates, or probationers who may simultaneously be undergoing alcoholic treatment. Crisis and residential centres were said to be one type of service that is not shunned by Native people in the way that other government services apparently are. According to one official, "they are running either at or close to capacity most of the time."

Cultural and organizational support programs are intended to support Native organizations and groups in their attempts to organize and train people for work in Native agencies, and/or develop cultural or social projects that will assist Native people to understand and retain their traditions. Funds are made available to cover: basic operation budgets, training courses to develop local administrative skills or proficiency in handling community programs, the publication of Native association newspapers, or any other community project initiated for the above purposes.

In the past, a large portion of available funds was allotted to on-reserve projects. Projects currently mounted by off-reserve Native People are receiving an *increasing* share of government budgets (e.g. 70 per cent of the program funds allocated to the Native Community Branch, Ministry of Citizenship and Culture).

Educational programs are designed to prepare Native people for professional careers in social and guidance counselling, or teaching. There is also assistance for students who wish to become familiar with campus life by working on campuses for the summer.

One educational program, PONA (I and II), which is still in the developmental stage, has the following objectives:

"... to investigate and appreciate a) the contributions of Native people to Canadian society; b) the cultural, legal and economic issues which they have encountered in their efforts to perpetuate and express their cultural identities; and c) ways in which Native and non-Native abilities, traditions, influences and values can become mutually enriching." (People of Native Ancestry, Ministry of Education, Colleges and Universities.

Alcohol programs are intended to provide treatment facilities, assessment and short-term counselling for Native people with alcohol problems. This occurs either in community settings, like the Kenora Community Treatment Centre, or as part of a broader rehabilitative effort, such as Rainbow Lodge or Pedahbun Lodge for alcoholics. Training resources for detox and recovery home staff, and educational

materials on the subject of alcohol treatment are also available through the Addiction Research Foundation (also known as ARF). The Union of Ontario Indians and ARF have formed a joint committee for the purpose of developing an Ontario-wide alcohol-related training program for Native people.

Finally there are programs and activities still at the planning or negotiation stages (e.g. Special ARDA, to be offered by the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion in co-opera-

tion with the provincial government).

How do government representatives view Native needs and problems?

An important element of the government's response to people's needs rests on the accumulated body of knowledge concerning the nature of conditions and problems. Such knowledge includes the main assumptions about problems, including the principle reasons and consequences for their existence. These assumptions include a set of explicit or implicit program *intervention* "theories" which indicate *what* a program does and *through what processes* it should bring about change. Taken together, this body of knowledge (however formally or loosely formulated, or however widely shared), provides the legitimacy and the organizing principles for government's program actions.

These assumptions are the products of a complicated set of inter-related factors: politics, social philosophies, government/community relations, internal governmental bureaucracy and talent and funding priorities for research, to name only a few. In a later section, attention will be given to the *processes* of assessing problems and needs. For now, the *content* of the perceptions is highlighted, particularly those ideas that specify the root or

causal factors of Native problems.

It is obvious that, unlike day-to-day "topical" or symptomatic problems, "root" or causal problems are rarely examined. An example of a more topical problem is: "Native people have to cope with an unfamiliar and threatening environment." Identified as a root problem was the "presumption of cultural homogeneity". Later in the report it is shown that Native people, particularly those working in Native organizations, are calling for more intervention into the root causes of problems, rather than the "band aid" approach governing many programs.

To gain some insight into the thinking behind program development, Task Force research

probed the nature of problems that programs were designed to remedy, and the perceived causes of those problems. The various types of causes, and their meanings, are as follows:

Tubes of muchlim	01
Types of problems	Characteristics of problems
Cultural	 transmitted values and belief systems
Socio-cultural	 social behavior influenced by culture
Social	 communal interactions
Psycho-social	 individual/social relations
Education/training	 skill development, training, education
Socio-economic	 either the absolute or the relative economic status of the group
Economic	 financial strength or finance-producing ca- pacity (e.g. through resources)
Political	 physical conditions, material structures
Socio-political	 social relationships based on the distribu- tion of power
Physical	 physical conditions, material structures
Legal/historic	 legal considerations or law enforcement ac- tivities, past events
Demographic	 population movements, dispersion, distribution, etc.
Other	– all other

As the left-hand column in Table 21 indicates, a broad range of factors are viewed as causal to Native respondents' problems. The most central of these factors — cultural, social and economic — constitute approximately 60 per cent of the explanations offered.

How does this differ from Native priorities?

The six primary concerns of Native respondents were expressed in different categories than those used above — housing, education, employment, cultural awareness, discrimination and alcohol abuse. The causes of these problems are usually expressed in terms of the cultural differences and the lack of resources necessary (education and work skills) for developing a steady economic base.

There is an apparent consensus between government and Native respondents that cultural differences are important root causes of the Native's disadvantaged position.

Native respondents and government representatives both give high priority to economic causes, but government appears to give less weight to educational factors.

Native respondents recognize discrimination as a social problem. Government representatives give a high rating to social causes.

What is the discrepancy between perceptions of problems and needs (by government and Natives) and government responses?

Having reviewed government thinking about the current situations facing Native people, our attention now turns to main types of interventions that characterize special programs. The main concern of this analysis is the extent to which interventions induced through programs are actually directed at the recognized causes of the problems.*

An analysis of the reported causes and interventions, as identified by policy makers and planners, suggests that their "taken-for-granted" assumptions respecting the causes of Native problems and needs are not reflected in program design (Table 21). Existing problems were most often attributed to cultural and socio-cultural causes whereas most intervention strategies aim at the social and socio-economic levels of existence (see Figure 4). Only 10.9 per cent of all program interventions described have a cultural or socio-cultural goal orientation.

The analysis above raises some salient questions and observations. If key government officials perceive the larger problem (which programs for Native people are designed to resolve) as a cultural one, then why are most government programs primarily directed at intervention in other areas?

How effective can programs be if the problems they are meant to solve are different from the problems they actually address? Are there rationales for the apparent discrepancies between thinking and action?

^{*} Pointing out possible discrepancies between perceived causes and program interventions is recognized as an important contribution of program evaluation research (Weiss, 1972, pg. 50).

Table 21

Perceived causes of Native problems and needs, with types of program interventions

Perceived causes			Interventions		
1. cultural	34	(18.4)	1. social	34	(20.6)
2. social	25	(13.5)	2. socio-economic	31	(18.8)
3. socio-cultural	21	(11.4)	3. educational/ training	20	(12.1)
4. economic	19	(10.3)	4. psycho-social	17	(10.3)
5. psycho-social	18	(9.7)	5. physical	13	(7.9)
6. educational	14	(7.6)	6. cultural	11	(6.7)
7. socio-economi	c 13	(7.0)	7. socio-political	9	(5.5)
8. physical	12	(6.5)	8. economic	7	(4.2)
9. political	10	(5.4)	9. social-cultural	7	(4.2)
10. socio-political	8	(4.3)	10. political	6	(3.6)
11. historical, legal	8	(4.3)	11. legal	5	(3.0)
12. demographic	2	(1.1)	12. other	5	(3.0)
13. other	1	(0.5)	13. demographic	0	
	185	(100%)		165	(100%)

Figure 4

Causal and intervention categories by programs

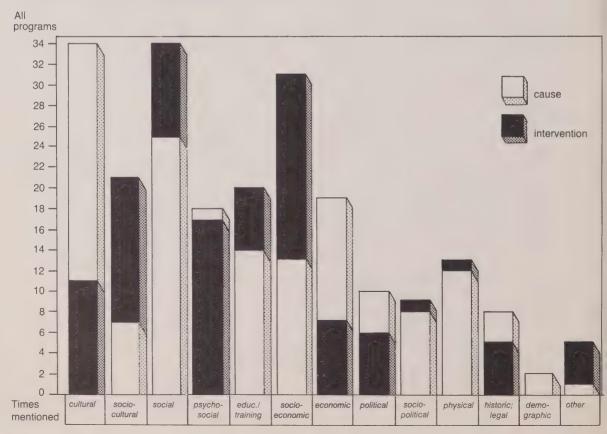


Figure 5

Causal and intervention categories by program types

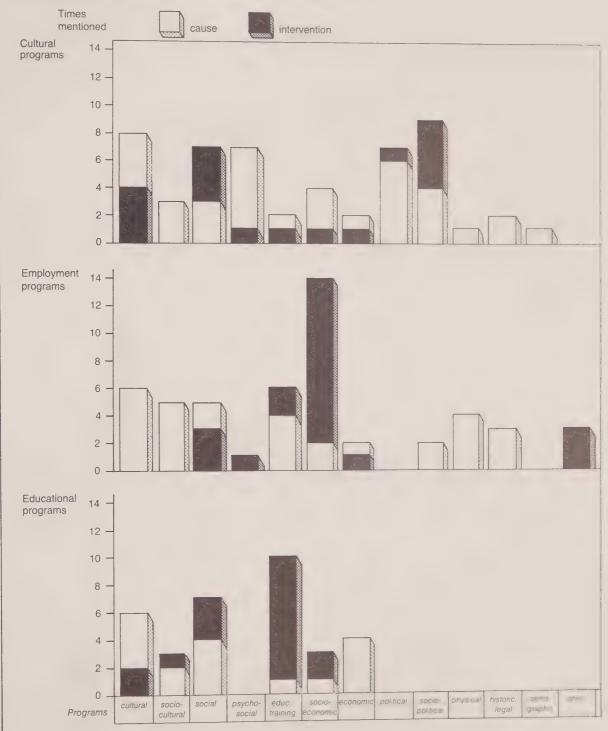


Figure 6

Causal and intervention categories by program types

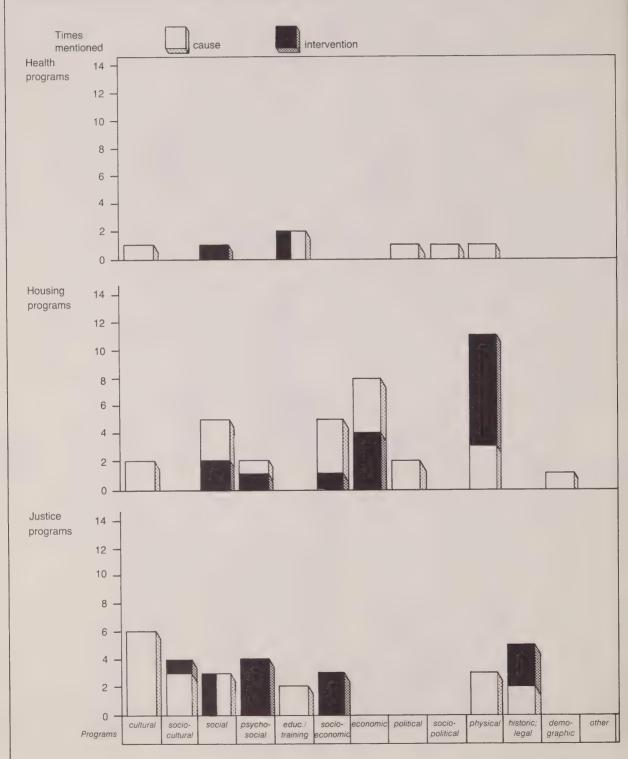
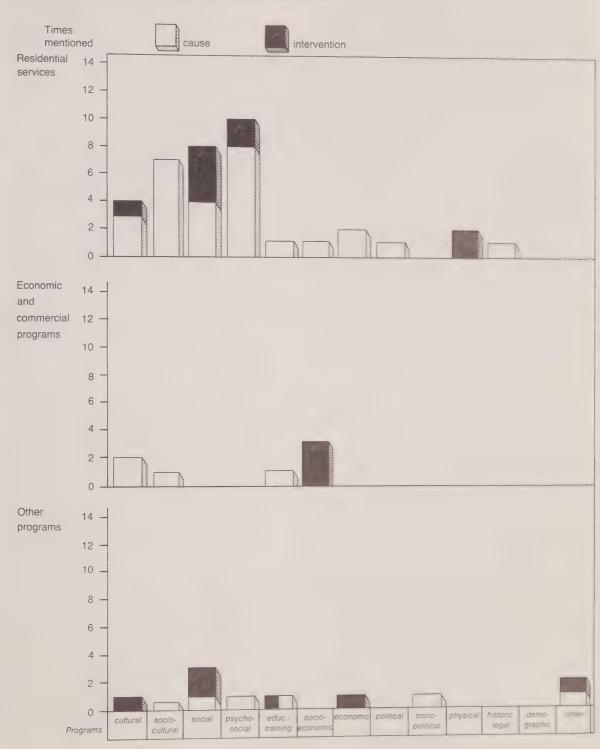


Figure 7

Causal and intervention categories by program types



How does one explain the discrepancies?

Given the discrepancies identified in previous sections, what explanations can make sense of, first, the differences between understanding and program action and, second, the differences existing between government and Native respondents' per-

ceptions of problems and needs?

One possible explanation for the inability of government departments to design programs that accurately reflect their perceptions of the problems is the specialization and lack of integration of government ministries and departments. The main difficulty seems to be that government organizations that sponsor or otherwise participate in programs are restricted to particular program themes (e.g. education) by virtue of their respective mandates. In many cases, although a diversity of causes is recognized, the *scope* of interventions is much narrower (Table 21). To a larger extent, the organizational end (purpose) seems to dictate the means (type of program involvement). The means, in turn, determine the nature and scope of the "remedy". If the tool available is education, then the solution is likely to be educational in format.

In the case of government organizations that sponsor various Native activities, incongruities between core problems and intervention strategies may, ironically, largely reflect the program goals that were expressed in proposals submitted to

government by Native organizations.

According to government assumptions, its particular reluctance or inability to provide necessary culture-oriented interventions may reflect the difficult relationships existing between government and the Native community (see section on problems in implementation). Added to this situation is the apparent ambivalence among some Native people about having government involved in Native culture.* The ministry departments specializing in the cultural realm, even when strongly supported by Native "cultural specialists", also show a rather limited culturally-oriented program intervention (Figure 5).

A second factor that might explain the discrepancies between need identification and program development is the *planning process* itself. Clearly, the nature of the *policy-development* process is af-

fected by a vast range of factors.

The main factors contributing to the formulation of a policy on Native people were seen as:

- ideas for effecting desirable changes (26.1%),
- responses to political pressure (from Native as well as non-Native groups and individuals) (25.0%),
- means of correcting existing imbalances in the distribution and accessibility of services and programs (20.5%),
- recognition of past injustices or "misconceptions" and "bungling" (12.5%).
- other e.g. change in socio-political climate, increased commitment to economic and social development, cost-sharing agreements, interest in natural resources, etc. (12.5%). (Policy Making and Program Development for Urban Native People in Ontario, Section II).

It is rather questionable whether this form of policy-making, so heavily influenced by political pressure and by the recognition of past injustices, is the best approach to accurately identify problems and solutions.

Discrepancies between Native respondents' perceived needs and various government responses may result from Natives being inconsistently consulted by all ministry departments.

Native input into the policy formulation and planning process

In recent years, government and private organizations have moved in the direction of citizen participation within policy making and program development. To some extent, program evaluation efforts have also incorporated the ideas of client communities. Throughout this report, considerable emphasis is given to Native participation in local organizations.

Over 60 per cent of government policy and program planners reported that Native people have input to the policy-making and planning process.

Virtually all who claim "Native input" of one kind or another also report having a policy on Native people.

Primary contributors were perceived to be from Native organizations; others were from government organizations, government-sponsored committees, and Native bands and chiefs.

Provincial officials tended to stress, more than federal officials did, the participatory role Native organizations played in policy making and planning. Perhaps this difference arose because federal policy is seen to have its origins primarily in the nation's capital.

^{*} See Section 2, page 25, for one symptom of this ambivalence.

The greatest awareness of Native input exists in government organizations concerned with:

- culture,
- recreation.

• citizens' participation, • justice.

Interestingly, just over two-thirds of the respondents affiliated with the areas just mentioned also acknowledge having a Native mandate.

Native input at the community/agency level is much less than exists at the parallel provincial level. Less than one-tenth of the agencies surveyed by the Task Force said that community-based Native people were very involved in their agency's planning. Even in the sampled Native-run agencies, agency people are almost the only ones involved in agency planning. These patterns for Native input must be considered in light of the fact that only a little over one-third of the agencies did any Native planning at all.

Need Identification Process

Another important aspect of the planning process that may affect these discrepancies is the identification of needs.

Government representatives identified the following procedures for need identification (these are rank-ordered according to the frequency of use):

- consultation with Native organizations and bands:
- proposals from Native and other interest groups that articulate and/or document the needs;
- presentations by community groups, or observed consumer demand;
- reference to existing legislation, standards (for eligibility, etc.), needs scales, means tests, and other criteria;
- assessment, monitoring and analysis of existing services by government;
- pressure by interest groups;
- statistical inference;
- miscellaneous approaches, including systematic study of available physical resources, need for alternative solutions imposed by budget constraints, needs expressed through media, etc.

Both federal and provincial officials mentioned consultation with Native organizations and bands as a main method of identifying needs. But federal officials, more than provincial representatives, emphasized "existing standards and criteria" as well as "internal evaluations" as part of the need identification process. Provincial officials stressed the importance of proposals that articulate and or document needs.

The use of Statistics for Planning

A potential source of information for needs assessment and planning is existing demographic studies of urban Native people. Although the quality of demography studies is generally low, the Task Force aimed to better understand how and what demographic data on Natives was being used. To do this, a survey was commissioned to study the users of Native demographic data within government, Native and academic communities.* The study obtained information on the awareness and use of data from a prepared list of sources, the existence and adequacy of data they required, the provision of research results, perceptions of differlection and distribution of data.

Several results of this survey have important tion of demographic data on Native people. These include the following:

- The over-all usage of demographic studies is very low. From a list of 29 existing reports, only two were reported used by more than 50 per cent of the sample.
- There are different perceptions in data needs. The federal government group reported that they did not perceive a difference in their data needs as compared to other groups, but the Native group did perceive a difference, vis-avis other groups.
- There is a need to reach the client communities with new and innovative approaches. The success of the recent Indian Conditions report illustrates a new approach to highlighting social, economic and demographic data on Natives.

The key user survey illustrated the various user barriers that must be addressed if good information is to be provided for policy decisions. Not the least of the concerns is the fact that many of the demographic reports are not easily available. Either the source is obscure, the supply has been exhausted, or circulation is restricted.

For the full report, see A Survey of the Use of Native Demographic Data by a Selected Group of Key Users in Ontario, 1981.

Policy and Program Implementation

The success of service programs, including the accuracy of program assumptions, often results from the *process of implementing* such programs. With the process of program implementation just beginning to be understood, some practical key questions arise:

- Is the program *thought to be important* by staff and members of the community?
- Do staff members and clients have the necessary knowledge and skills to deliver and use the program?
- Are there sufficient and adequate material resources and resource flexibility to provide the program?
- How suitable is the *organization*, and its *linkages* with the community, for supporting the program?

The problems in service delivery to Native people will be described later in terms of these factors. In this section, the implementation process is examined from the perspective of planners. In doing this, two assumptions are made:

- 1. that problems in implementing policies and programs have a detrimental effect on both the understanding of the problems for which programs are designed, and on service outcomes;
- 2. that by diagnosing these barriers to policy and program implementation, action can eventually be taken.

In examining the formalized policy and program implementation process, the Task Force research paid particular attention to:

- organizational channels used for program implementation;
- problems encountered in the implementation of policies and programs for Native people.

Most government organizations carry out their programs through their "in-house" service networks, as well as through other specified government agencies and private organizations, many of which are Native.

Problems encountered during policy and program implementation were examined in some depth. The objective was two-fold: to obtain an indication of the kinds of operational difficulties experienced by government people, and to give respondents an opportunity to express their own concerns.

In the 219 separate observations made by 52 government respondents, the major problems mentioned were:

- identifying the demographics of the urban Native population (who, how many, and where) for planning and implementation purposes (25.0 per cent of the total responses);
- discerning the Native point of view (23.1 per cent). (There was a pervasive feeling that the views of "grass roots" people differ from those of Native leaders. Disunity among Native organizations was also seen as a barrier to identification of "the Native point of view". The underlying assumption was that there is, or ought to be, a single and collective Native view.);
- lack of structure and stability within the Native community of organizations, seen as a serious obstacle to effective policy and program implementation (21.2 per cent), partly because of the "many changes in hierarchy";
- poor managerial and administrative control or capacity, said to exist in many Native organizations (21.2 per cent). (Administrative and organizational difficulties were jointly mentioned more frequently than any other family of problems.);
- the lack or shortage of funds or staff resources to implement programs for Native people, considered to be a main problem (17.3 per cent);
- cultural differences (as reflected in lifestyle, behavior, and general outlook) and seen as creating different sets of expectations and subsequent misunderstanding (17.3 per cent);
- institutionalized attitude barriers, stereotyping, discrimination, and the effects of social conditioning, perceived as general hindrances to the successful implementation of programs (15.4 per cent);
- the lack of co-operation between Native groups due to differences in philosophy and interests, considered to be a serious obstacle to joint negotiations between government and Native organizations (15.4 per cent).

(Policy Planning and Program Development)

In addition to these problems, difficulties arose from: Native distrust or resentment of government people; the absence of clearly-defined jurisdictional boundaries between federal and provincial responsibilities, and the lack of direction "from the top"; communication barriers; non-co-operation by some Native organizations in the

development and/or implementation of government programs; various psychological barriers such as fear, frustration, and lack of motivation; the inflexibility of the system due to structural and procedural limitation; political conflict; etc.

Part of program implementation is, or should be, program evaluation.

Program Evaluation

The purpose of an evaluation is "to measure the effects of a program against the goal it sets out to accomplish as a means of contributing to subsequent decision-making about the program and improving future programming". It is assumed that in the course of evaluation, information is obtained on whether the program's clientele have different needs and whether the working assumptions about how programs operate are, in fact, accurate. Such information, in other words, is assumed to be useful for higher level planning functions as well as for program operations. Task Force research probed whether government organizations evaluated the effects of their activities, a) on Native clients in cities and towns, and b) on non-Native clients.

Programs for Natives

Slightly less than one-third of government officials surveyed stated that programs and services directed at Native people are assessed in terms of their *impact* on Native people. Most of the remainder indicated that programs and services for Native people were not evaluated with regard to their effects on Native people, mainly because no distinction is made between Natives and non-Natives.

The evaluation of Native programs and related activities is not conducted uniformly across the various ministry departments. Although the largest majority of government respondents talked of systematic evaluations, i.e. done at regular intervals and according to a prescribed formula, many talked of an informal approach that depended on circumstances.

There are indications that many of these evaluations are designed to measure the efforts of the service providers and associated organizational activity (i.e. process) rather than the effects they have on Native clients (i.e. outcome).

The results suggest less than certain knowledge about the effects of programs on Native clients (and perhaps non-Native clients as well). The reasons given for not evaluating programs and services suggest that certain perceived problems,

intrinsic both to the evaluation process and the programs themselves, are responsible. These factors were also recognized in the Task Force Study entitled "An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People." Examples of activities that are apparently not evaluated are:

- programs co-funded by several ministries;
- programs whose effectiveness cannot be established by quantitative methods;
- programs whose implementation has been delegated to outside agencies;
- programs serving several client groups with similar but not identical characteristics or needs;
- experimental or new programs that have not yet reached the assessment stage;
- routine activities such as counselling, training, consulting, etc.

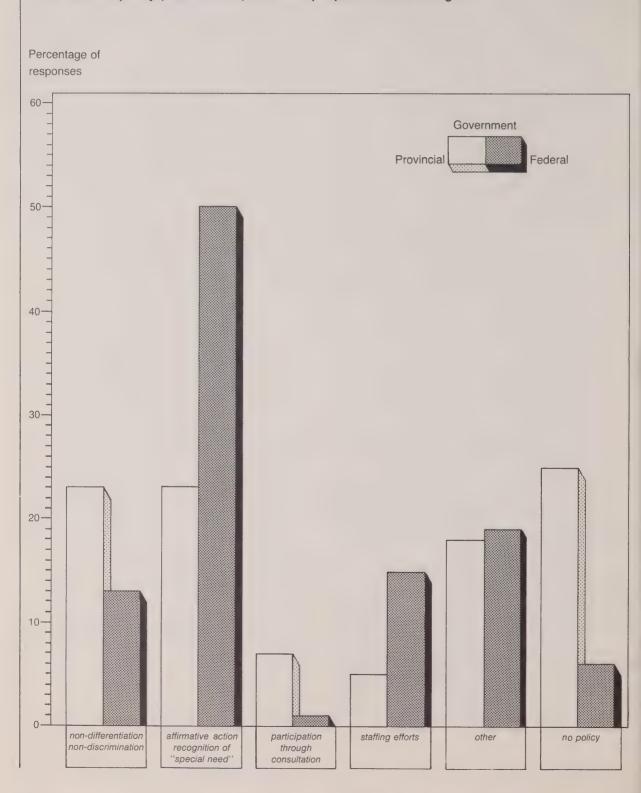
From this information, it is evident that appropriate feedback about needs and program solutions is hampered by four main government organizational factors.

- A curious application of a policy of non-differentiation is used to legitimize an absence of evaluation of possible differences in impact on different clients. Notable differences emerged between federal and provincial respondents on the question of policy: provincial officials stress the principle of non-differentiation/non-discrimination more than their federal counterparts; on the other hand, federal officials cite Affirmative Action in recognition of Native people's "special needs" far more frequently than do their provincial colleagues. Such thinking can unintentionally lead to a serious negative consequence, since service problems with Native clients are rarely discussed officially between program planners and operators. As such, this program evaluation policy constitutes institutional discrimination since it effectively prohibits delivery of the best service to a group of culturally different clients.
- Co-sponsorship of programs.
- Program implementation by outside agencies.
- Certain biases concerning the most appropriate program evaluation methods, favoring quantitative over qualitative data, and late versus early assessment of new programs. *

Recent evaluation research has indicated the value of non-statistical approaches and evaluation during early program implementation phases.

Figure 8

Government policy (stated or not) on Native people in urban settings



Summary

This review of policy making and program development may be summarized by the following main points:

- 1. Responsibility for Natives varies widely among government departments. Those organizations having the strongest mandates are in culture, recreation, citizens' participation and education. Those with the weakest are in public assistance, housing, and economic and commercial development. The location of mandates does not reflect all major needs.
- 2. About three-quarters of the respondents indicated that a policy exists, although it may be tacit, with regard to urban Native people in their organization.
- 3. Provincial officials stress the principle of non-differentiation/non-discrimination more than their federal counterparts; federal officials cite Affirmative Action more frequently than their provincial counterparts.
- 4. Policy on Native people has been established by government either in response to political pressure or as a means of correcting existing imbalances and effecting desirable changes.

- 5. Native input into policy formulation and planning is directly related to the size and scope of the organization. About three-fifths of the federal and provincial respondents indicated such input exists. This number fell to one-tenth at the community agency level.
- 6. Major inconsistencies were found between the total number of perceived causes of root problems and the total number of interventions; the most striking discovery was that, while most existing problems were generally attributed to cultural and socio-cultural causes, most intervention strategies aim at the social and socio-economic levels of existence.
- 7. Suggested explanations for these discrepancies include structured aspects of:
 - government organization,
 - policy-making and planning,
 - existing use of information,
 - need identification,
 - policy and program implementation,
 - program evaluation.

All of these factors might also explain the difficulties experienced by program personnel at the local community level, and generally any problems making an impact on Native people. These issues receive attention in the next two sections.

Resources: Availability, Use and Effectiveness

Long-standing problems still exist despite the partial agreement between government officials and Native respondents on core problems and needs, despite the existence of numerous special programs, and perhaps *because* of inaccurate program emphasis.

This section attempts to shed further light on this situation by examining the resource situation at the community level. First, attention is given to the numbers and types of available programs and resources (both Native and non-Native) and the inherent resource gaps. Next, estimates are made concerning the utilization of programs by Native respondents. Following that, assessments are made concerning how well programs are provided or services are delivered. The section ends with a documentation of resource needs that are still perceived, and proposes a closer examination of the reasons for ineffective service delivery to Native respondents.

Human Service Agencies in Ontario

Inquiries made of various ministries and information centres revealed that, although no centralized list of human service agencies seems to exist in Ontario, it is still possible to identify a total of 1,721 human service agencies in those cities and towns possessing a high Native concentration. The best assessment indicates that 420 are government agencies, 1,146 are non-government agencies (including day-care centres and churches), and 66 are *Native* service organizations. The remainder is composed of 71 senior citizens' homes and 18 other agencies.¹

All agencies were analysed according to the primary service or program offered, yielding the following distribution:

Type of services:	Number of agencies:
Health	218
Education	186
Family and children	106
Miscellaneous ²	102
Justice system	85
Social welfare	76
Senior citizens	72
Youth	66
Recreation	58
Employment	57
Drug and alcohol	33
Women	31
Housing	29
Other ²	11
Cultural awareness	4
Unspecified	18
	1,152

Except for cultural awareness programs, on the average, there is at least one type of program per city or town, with sometimes as many as seven.

Programs and Services in Native Organizations

Task Force research estimates that approximately 200 Native organizations and community groups exist, but three stand out as being major resources for urban Natives in Ontario.

- Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association;
- Ontario Native Women's Association;
- Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres; and the network of friendship centres across Ontario.

All have a central office as well as local branches; they provide multiple services for their respective target groups. All serve as information centres. OMNSIA maintains its head office in Toronto and has locals all over the province. It is geared toward serving the needs of Metis and

With the exception of day-care centres and churches, the list constituted the sample for the Task Force resource assessment study.

Includes those agencies providing multiple service such as Native organizations, and field offices of the Ministry of Northern Affairs, Ministry of Community and Social Services, and the Department of Indian Affairs.

non-status Indians by offering support and assistance in the areas of housing, education, recreation, community development and a variety of smaller

programs.

ONWA has its head office in Thunder Bay and also has locals around the province. Its function is to improve the quality of life in the communities and to provide activities in the areas of economic development, family services, workshops, education, and recreation. With a pragmatic emphasis on women's issues, ONWA is involved in counselling and crisis centres for women.

Friendship centres are somewhat less centralized although they are affiliated at the provincial level with a head office in Toronto. A friendship centre, as a local resource, is much more a physical place

than the locals of the other organizations.

Usually all kinds of social and recreational activities are centred in the building, with a variety of other services (including government agency services) being based there. A friendship centre is an all-purpose resource centre as well as a base from which Native people deal with non-Native agencies and organizations.

An analysis of services and activities offered by a sample of community-based Native organizations or local branches of large community organizations showed a distribution of services as follows:

Functional area of	Number of local
a major service	organizations
Cultural awareness	20
Drug — alcohol	5
Education	16
Employment	7
Family and children	1
Health and nutrition	4
Youth	8
Housing	12
Justice	6
Recreation	16
Senior citizens	2
Women	9
Welfare and social services	14
Other:	
Information/resource centre	8
Counselling/social needs	4
Religion	1
Political orientation	2

It appears, then, that Native organizations are very much in the business of providing services, although obviously not in every city or town. Even the most frequently offered cultural awareness and recreation services/programs are not available in all 32 high-concentration communities.

A geographical breakdown shows that among the 60 organizations we could identify, half are in the north central section. Eight of the 60 are in the northwestern section, and the remaining 22 are

in the south.

Among cities, Thunder Bay has the greatest number of Native organizations with 14; Sudbury and Toronto each have nine; and Sioux Lookout has six.

Task Force research also delved into special programs and services available for Native people, since these are described by people working at the community human service level, including Native organizations (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

Local Level Special Services

At the local level, there are a number of special "programs" and resources offered by school boards, hospital(s), Big Brother Associations, day camp centres, colleges and municipalities.

Examples of these are:

- Big Brother service for Native boys in "fatherabsent" homes in Brantford and District;
- Camp Outlook (probation and aftercare services) in Brantford and Brant County;
- Native consultant in the Crisis Intervention Units at the Toronto East General Hospital;
- Indian Student Personnel Services, North Bay Board of Education;
- Native Advisory Committee, Lambton County Board of Education;
- Native History Course (languages, customs, crafts), Sault Ste. Marie District Roman Catholic Separate School Board;
- Native Student Counselling Service, Algonquin Heron Park Day Camp (Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology, Thunder Bay);
- Native and Territorial Student Advisors, Lakehead Board of Education;
- Native Youth Summer Employment, Mohawk College, Hamilton.

Special Native Services

Just over one-fifth of all reporting agencies have at least one special Native resource in place. In order of frequency, these Native programs are:

- special counselling services such as orientation to the city environment; Native identity and education counselling; family and parentchild relations;
- a special Native staff cadre or staff with particular sensitivity to Native values, culture and needs;
- Outreach programs for Natives in, or close to, a community;
- special educational programs;
- satellite offices of an agency located in a Native organization.

In terms of *future planning* for Native-oriented resources.

- one in five of all reporting agencies is currently planning a new, culturally-appropriate program for Native people;
- one in 10 agencies had actually applied to fund such a new Native program — between a third to a half of the number of agencies that said they were developing a new specialized Native service.

In most of these new Native programs, agency people are adapting values or policies to accommodate Native people, or alternatively, are adapting some existing agency services or methods to better serve Native clients. A few of the special programs being developed involve the hiring of Native staff for the first time or employing more Native staff.

Use of Services

Given this picture of Native and non-Native agencies available to Native people in need, it is necessary to look at actual use of those services.

Previous research indicates that urban Native people are high users of services. One study, for example, found that over one-half of the sample had contact with service agencies since their arrival in the community (McCaskill, 1979). Research commissioned by the Task Force confirmed this impression and is reflected in the following indications:

• Estimated Native use of services is approximately *double* the rate of use by other members of the community (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

- The largest proportion of staff members of Native organizations estimate that over threequarters of the Native population in their communities relies on some kind of formal community resource to meet their needs.
- The most frequently used community resources by Native people were employment programs, medical services, social welfare, and cultural-awareness programs (see Table 22).
- To solve their most *serious* self-identified problems, Native respondents are most likely to turn to employment offices, social welfare and Native organizations.
- CEIC programs are the most frequently used by Native respondents.

Table 22

Have you used the following kinds of service programs in the last two years . . . ?

	<u>Yes</u>	
Employment	237	(52.9%)
Health and nutrition	230	(52.9%)
Social welfare	198	(45.2%)
Cultural awareness	197	(45.4%)
Recreation	170	(39.2%)
Justice system	153	(35.5%)
Housing programs	113	(25.9%)
Youth services	104	(24.2%)
Children and family services	91	(20.9%)
Women's services	72	(16.5%)
Drug and alcohol services	55	(12.9%)
Senior citizens services	48	(11.5%)

Source: Native People and Their Communities, Vol. II, 1982.

Faced with these figures, it is important to note that about one-half of front-line service staff feel their agencies are unable to meet Native service demand.

Changes in Use of Services

Most human service agencies report that the number of *all* their clients had increased between 1978 and 1980. Over one-third reported an increase in the numbers of their *Native* clients. Staff people reported that the main change to occur recently was Natives' needs for special kinds of services.

Native Health and Use of Health Facilities

Studies of the health status of Natives living in selected regions of northern Ontario have shown high rates of illness and accidents compared to other populations (Young, 1979; Dixon, 1976) and that diabetes is a particularly serious health problem. Native respondents in urban settings, on the other hand, seem to be active users of available health facilities. Task Force research found that:

- most of the people reporting a health problem since living in their current community sought help from a private doctor, hospital, or clinic;
- eight out of 10 people have a family doctor;
- almost everyone is covered by OHIP;
- visits to dentists average just under one visit per year.

(Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume II)

Although the general picture of health care *use* looks positive, there is evidence that points to an *incomplete knowledge* in the use of health care resources by many Native respondents.

- Only one-half of the Task Force research sample was aware of such supplementary financial assistance plans as OHIP premium assistance, Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and the like. People lacking such knowledge were mainly uneducated, had unskilled jobs, were younger (19 and under) or older (50 and over), lived in northwest communities, and resided in towns with populations of 5,000 to 12,000.
- Those *least likely* to have a family doctor are male, recent arrivals in town, self-identified "Treaty", transient, seasonally employed, and living in small towns.
- Some categories of Native respondents were less likely to have OHIP coverage: Metis, "Treaty", and single people (Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume II).

Cultural Awareness

Previous sections of this report have mentioned the increased interest among urban Native respondents in Native cultural identity and cultural awareness. Interestingly enough, problems associated with cultural awareness by Native and non-Native respondents alike were given high priority in our own studies. Involvement in cultural awareness programs is a moderately strong pattern in our particular sample. (Table 22). Certain categories of Native respondents are *more* involved

than others: Iroquois, the younger and better educated, the single and divorced, those having full-time and higher-status jobs, those living in larger towns and cities, those living in their present location for one or two years.

Task Force studies suggest that the growth of Native cultural awareness and identity is mainly a concern for the relatively "successful" Native person. It is of no concern for those with basic unmet needs. Participation in cultural awareness activities also seems to meet certain social needs for recent arrivals, and single or divorced Native respondents.

Despite the evidence that urban Native respondents are active users of many human service agencies, Task Force research also reports that:

half of the agency directors and service staff said that Native respondents were under-utilizing agency resources.

This apparent discrepancy could mean that even more needy people should be using services, or that those using services should use them more appropriately and/or consistently. In fact, previous research and other impressions suggest that initial contacts with service agencies are not followed through. Possible reasons for this will be explored in a later section.

Day Care

One type of community resource that may not be used, where it is in existence, is the day-care centre. Nearly all questionnaires returned from day-care centres in the Task Force resource assessment study indicated no use by Native respondents.

Whatever the meaning of the perception that resources are under-utilized,

 seven out of 10 respondents in the Task Force sample of Native people in the community reported using services to solve a personal need.

Involvement in Native Organizations

To anticipate a later discussion in this report, Native organizations were given high ratings for their service to urban Native people. This evaluation is consistent for staff members of Native organizations. Because of this pattern, and because of the present and anticipated diverse service offerings of Native organizations, it is instructive to examine the following patterns of use.

- Almost 45 per cent of the general community sample reported involvement in Native organizations during the two-year period before their interview. Native organizations, (friendship centres in particular) were the most frequently used organizations for problem-solving purposes (along with employment service organizations and social welfare).
- The most frequent users of Native organizations are: better academically educated; women; those in supervisory, skilled, seasonal or temporary jobs; Metis; those who have lived in town for a moderate length of time (three to five years).
- Involvement rates in Native organizations are slightly higher for the smallest and largest cities and towns.

Although Native respondents with similar characteristics are as involved in friendship centres as they are in Native agencies as a whole, there are some differences:

- Status Indians, because they tend to concentrate in larger cities, have a higher involvement with friendship centres.
- Unmarried people are most likely to be involved in friendship centres, as are people under 20.

Our information on membership in the Ontario Native Women's Association reveals that only a small proportion of Native women are actively involved (approximately one in seven). Those who are involved show much the same characteristics as those generally involved in Native organizations. Those involved in the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association are, according to our studies, more likely to be: Metis (38.9 per cent) than non-status (18.8 per cent); residents of small towns; residing in their current location for longer than two years; married.

Gaps in service

Previous sections give a reasonably objective picture of the resources available in those Ontario cities and towns with high Native concentrations. The fact is, though, that problems *still* exist. Over 50 per cent of the families in a Task Force survey, for example, reported incomes of less than \$7,000. Two questions are now raised to further explore this situation:

Are there *enough* resources? Are the existing resources *effectively* provided?

To answer the first question, Task Force studies explored the existing gaps between needs and available services. Such gaps may occur because of missing services or programs where, in fact, there are needs. Or, the gaps may be "perceptual" in nature, where Native respondents are not aware of existing programs.

Our estimates of the existing gaps in services are based on several types of information:

- statements by the staff members of Native organizations concerning the current existence of, or necessity for, programs to meet the most important identified needs;
- reports from the staff members of service organizations about their attempts to refer Native clients to other agencies in the community;
- reports from past or prospective Native service users on whether there are missing services in their communities.

Our over-all assessment, based on these sources of information, is that, to a rather large extent, there is a gap between the needs of Native respondents and the resources available to them. The shortfall in services is particularly serious in health (especially in small northern towns) and housing. It is also true for personal counselling needs, employment services, child care, and recreation.

One of the strongest indications that many services are missing originates with the service-providing staff of human service organizations.

Service givers reported that 6,702 Native clients (14 per cent of the estimated Native client sample) who should have been referred to other services were not. The reasons for this were that either the appropriate services were not available or no places were available. The most-needed services in these situations were health care, family and children's services, housing, and youth services. Recreational and employment services were also indicated as deficient.

Another indication of a shortfall in services comes from service and Native organizational staff assessments of community services, as well as their own difficulties in meeting the needs of Native clients.

When questioned about resource needs of Native people, and the most serious unmet needs, the staff members of Native organizations spoke of services that ranged from life-skills programs,

supplementary welfare payments and family-oriented counselling during alcohol-abuse counselling, to leadership-training opportunities in the recreation field.

Although the lack of specific services offered by existing agencies was mentioned frequently by Native respondents, it received mixed consideration by the *non-Native* heads of agencies and agency service staff.

Answering a question that concerned the most serious problems in serving Native people, approximately 6 per cent of the agency heads focused on missing services in the agency. Much more emphasis was placed on this type of problem by the staff providing the services. Over one-third of their answers emphasized the lack of certain services.

Whatever the explanation is for this discrepancy in emphasis between staff and agency heads, the limitation of specifically needed services within certain agencies is a significant factor contributing to the over-all impact on Native users.

We will return to the *details* of these missing services in a later section on resource needs.

Evaluation of Service Effectiveness

In addition to the very real possibility that persistent problems can be explained in terms of insufficiency of resources, the *effectiveness* of current services may also be important. The first measure focuses on the effectiveness in general. Using a variety of sources, Task Force researchers were able to estimate the effectiveness of existing services. Such sources include general ratings by staff members of Native organizations, assessments of service usefulness by clients, and comments by the direct service providers in human service agencies.

An over-all judgment, based on a variety of research evidence, is that services to date have been only moderately effective.

Interestingly enough, it is the Native and non-Native agency staff who seem most critical of service effectiveness. The Native respondents who were asked to evaluate programs such as the CEIC employment office, social welfare offices, DIAND services, hospitals, the Unemployment Insurance Commission, and the Native friendship centre, were somewhat less critical.

Confirming the findings in other Task Force studies, the friendship centres were given the highest evaluations, whereas the CEIC office most often received low effectiveness ratings. The information from the service providers in the human services assessment study, although of a slightly different nature, corroborated this finding. In one section, the service staff were asked to compare the effectiveness of various aspects of their services for their Native clients. These included: service variety, readiness with which clients received service, the degree to which services were equal to demands, cultural appropriateness, numbers of staff, and staff training.

Turning now to some specific observations from one of the Task Force's surveys:

- The staff members of Native organizations were found more likely to judge the over-all effectiveness of local services as "bad" rather than "good" for Native clients; this was particularly true in northwestern cities and towns.
- They were more likely to rate the most important programs in each of 13 need/resource areas as "unsuccessful".
- They were twice as likely to say that programs in the most important service areas were using resources "ineffectively" (... Key Informant Study).

These assessments by staff members of Native organizations were supported by the judgments of service staff in human service organizations across Ontario.

On several different measures of service effectiveness, service providers in human service organizations gave higher ratings to the services provided to their general clientele than to the services provided to Native people (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

On the comparative effectiveness of various aspects of their agency's work, it was evident that resources were generally reported as *less effective* for Native clients than for all agency clients. The *least* effective aspects were the funding to meet special needs and the cultural appropriateness of the agency services and methods. The staff's judgments indicated that the greatest effectiveness seemed to be in the readiness with which clients gain access to services, and in the service providers' own work with clients (An Assessment of at Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

How did the Native respondents rate the effectiveness of services they received? Of 489 respondents, 348 (71.2 per cent) used some type of assistance or community service for help in coping with self-defined serious problems.

For the over-all ratings of agencies by Native clients, the data indicates a slightly more posi-

is apparent,¹ rather than negative, although feelings about usefulness are varied. Four in 10 ratings of service usefulness were high; one-third was low; and the remainder was medium.

The global assessment of resource usefulness can be presented in more detailed form for some types of agencies.

In an analysis of the most frequently used service organizations in our sample (CEIC employment offices, hospitals, DIAND offices, and Native friendship centres), the results were apparent.

- CEIC employment offices were most likely to receive low ratings of usefulness, and least likely to receive high ratings.
- The ratings of welfare offices were distributed equally over high, medium, and low categories.
- Friendship centres, hospitals, and DIAND services were most likely to receive high usefulness ratings.

It is apparent from the above findings that no simple statement should be made concerning the effectiveness of existing services for Native clients except to say that those in staff positions seem somewhat more concerned than are service recipients. Another observation is that Native efforts to find jobs and seek suitable training (serious issues for them) may not be assisted by existing employment offices. Beyond this, there is a great variation on judgments of service effectiveness in general, with considerable numbers of both service recipients and Native organizational staff making both positive and negative judgments.

In addition to evaluating services in general, Task Force respondents *evaluated service staff* involved in face-to-face transactions with Native people.

In an assessment of local service staff competence, by staff of Native organizations, there was an almost even split between those thinking that staff were doing a "good" job in comparison to those thinking that staff were doing a "bad" job. The more negative assessments were directed against staff in the fields of employment services, education, youth services, and social welfare.

The criteria used to judge staff competence emerged as:

- effort and dedication,
- communication skills,
- This conclusion could be changed if "low" and "medium" ratings were grouped together to indicate low effectiveness. Such a step would not be that far-fetched, since recent research suggests that client satisfaction with services tends to be higher than actual positive changes.

- the lack of demands for non-essential information.
- understanding, care and empathy.

The slight trend toward positive staff judgments among members of Native organizations was supported by the information from Native service users.

When asked to rate the "quality of staff", Native respondents who had used service agencies responded in the following ways:

- Four out of 10 rated staff quality as "high", three out of 10 as "low", with the remainder registering a medium assessment.
- Welfare and UIC staff were rated the most negatively; friendship centre staff were rated the most favorably, followed by DIAND staff.

The extreme variation in the assessment of staff competence leads us to suspect that staff-Native client relations may be affected by local conditions. Unfortunately, the limitation of time did not allow us to test out this suspicion.

What are the Identified Resource Needs?

Having previously reviewed existing resources, indicating problems in sufficiency and effectiveness, attention now turns to the bottom line: what are the identified resource needs? This section draws on:

- perceptions of staff members of Native organizations and program and policy planners in the Native field with regard to the most important unmet needs of urban Native service users;
- statements by Native respondents from several communities across Ontario concerning those changes in their community that would give them a better life.

Figure 9 summarizes the results. The resource needs listed in italics are those receiving most emphasis across all projects. In other words, the highlighted needs are the ones mentioned, or given special emphasis, by more categories of respondents.

Questionnaire data, community meetings and a research conference yielded other information on needed resources than that found in the list of programs, services and activities mentioned in Figure 9. Most of this additional information highlighted the changes that would *improve the use and effectiveness* of existing services. In one way or another, these have been incorporated into previous or later discussions of resource effectiveness. To summarize, these recommendations pointed to:

improvements in sensitivity to the social and cultural realities of Native people by adding Native staff to existing services, sensitizing non-Native

staff, and consulting with Native people; these measures were particularly recommended for the employment offices, programs for drug and alcohol abuse, the school system (Native teachers and counsellors), family services, social welfare office, the judicial system and services to senior citizens:

• improvements in the access to information, particularly about programs and services in employment, housing, cultural awareness, recreation, preventative health care (particularly nutrition), and family life.

In addition to these, *other changes* to improve access to and use of resources were:

- quicker and more open access to housing and housing programs through reduced prejudice and discrimination, removal of local politics from the selection process, more flexible eligibility criteria, shorter waiting periods;
- integration of youth services;
- improvement in the access to educational programs and services through financial aid and housing for out-of-town students, and more flexible entrance criteria to training programs;
- equal job opportunities through the reduction of discrimination.

A number of general themes are suggested in the details of resource needs as listed in Figure 9.

These themes cut across all functional areas and will now be enumerated since they provide bridges both to general policy-development and to the discussion of future directions in a later section.

- Cultural awareness and sensitivity: the enhancement, within Native and non-Native communities, of awareness and respect for Native culture, heritage and culturally-influenced behaviors; changes required in individual knowledge, skills and attitudes, as well as in institutional service organization practices.
- Additional programs, services and material resources: particularly in housing, cultural awareness, drug and alcohol abuse (north), social welfare, recreation and day care.
- A more even balance between programs specializing in crisis intervention and rehabilitation, and those oriented towards prevention. This is particularly true in drug and alcohol services, family services, health care, youth services, and the judicial system.
- *Training*: including specific job training, upgrading, and general life skills (budgeting, home ownership, preventative health care, child-rearing).
- Improvements in the *circulation of information* about programs.
- Financial assistance, and the general provision of more affordable resources in housing, social welfare, recreation, training and education.

Figure 9

Urban Native resource needs identified by Task Force research

1. Housing

- more housing: decent and reasonable
- financial aid: home repair, maintenance; low interest
- low-rent housing and housing programs for low income people
- emergency or short-term housing programs
- special residences for students, elderly, women, men, single-parent families
- increased awareness about existing government and other housing programs

2. Employment

- jobs for men and women
- retraining: upgrading, job training and life skills
- job and career counselling for adults and youth
- information concerning service and jobs
- more adequate funding for Native organizations to enhance training and job opportunities
- financial assistance for training

3. Cultural awareness

- language classes
- opportunities for spirituality and elder involvement
- Native studies in school curriculum, and other ways to promote non-Native sensitization to Native culture
- cultural resource centres

- opportunities for practising traditional activities (arts, crafts, drum, dancing)
- opportunities to share information about different Native life styles
- opportunities for learning cultural heritage and developing pride and self-awareness
- cultural awareness programs for youth and children

Figure 9 (Cont'd.)

Urban Native resource needs identified by Task Force research

4. Drug and alcohol abuse

- preventative work: education about drug and alcohol abuse, the possible relationship to health and nutrition
- individual and group counselling
- special facilities for women, youth, inmates
- more programs in some geographical areas
- follow-up and rehabilitation programs
- assessment centres

5. Education

- Native studies (also mentioned in resources to enhance cultural awareness)
- alternative Native schools
- adult education, upgrading, on-the-job training (also mentioned in discussions of employment needs)

6. Family life and childhood

- family counselling
- family life education: particularly parenting skills, hygiene, nutrition
- improved health plans and care
- public information on Native problems

- Native foster and adoptive homes
- information on child placement, child welfare rights, available services
- family crisis-intervention services

7. Social welfare

- alternatives to welfare
- supplementary counselling or educational services: counselling, social work, crisis counselling, life skills training, parenting skills training, employment offices
- financial increases or supplements, particularly for those in transient or crisis situations
- priority to families in supplement programs
- material assistance: housing (e.g. hostels, residences for transients or those in crisis, subsidized maintenance), clothing.

8. Youth

- leadership training and development
- organized recreation
- opportunities for interaction between youth and elders
- Native-oriented programs in a variety of areas; employment, recreation, cultural awareness, etc.
- drop-in centres
- counselling in drug and alcohol abuse
- life skills programs
- follow-up counselling services
- life awareness speakers (e.g. ex-criminals, unemployed)
- employment services and work projects for youth

9. Recreation

- more diverse recreational opportunities
- training opportunities for Native leadership in recreation
- recreational programs to reflect Native cultural and social needs; traditional dancing and drumming; clubs and programs for Native women, seniors; cultural and historical identity seminars and workshops; national Native recreation and competition

Figure 9 (Cont'd.)

Urban Native resource needs identified by Task Force research

10. Women

- day care
- counselling
- financial aid
- crisis centres
- housing for Native women students

- alcohol abuse services
- rehabilitation
- Native women's groups and centres
- job and employment services

11. Health and nutrition

- opportunities for preventative measures, particularly education and information about nutrition
- traditional Native foods and herbal medicines
- increase and improvements in health facilities and the means of access to them, particularly in the north

12. Justice

- improvement of Native Courtworker Program through additional staff, expansion of juvenile and family court, staff training, and the development of procedures to assure client access.
- adequate after-care for rehabilitating Native exinmates
- improvements in employment opportunities and training
- alternatives to prison (e.g. community service fine options)
- information about rights, the justice system, service resources

13. Senior citizens

- more programs for elderly (e.g. homes for the elderly)
- medical services
- transportation: cheap, emergency information
- housing: low-rent homes, senior citizen apartments, home maintenance assistance
- nutritional advice

- opportunities for involvement in the Native community (interaction with young Natives to enhance cultural awareness: social and recreational activities
- home assistance services: nursing, social workers, Native homemakers, meals-on-wheels.
- financial assistance
- resources to strengthen Native family unit.

Conclusions

The main points of this section are:

- 1. Although there are many Native and non-Native organizations providing various services in cities and towns of high Native concentration, these are apparently insufficient resources to meet the needs and demands of Native service users.
- Additionally, the current programs are not providing their services in the most effective way.

An explanation of the possible *reasons* for service *ineffectiveness* is the next important task. This is pursued in Section Five.

Factors Affecting Service Impact

In the previous section, the following conclusions about service impact emerged:

- For certain service categories, and in certain geographical areas, there are insufficient resources to meet existing needs.
- Where services do exist, their effectiveness is highly questionable either because of under-utilization or inadequate quality of service.

The purpose of this section is to examine the results of Task Force studies for plausible explanations of service inadequacies. Two things should be clarified about the nature of these explanations. First, they concentrate on community or agency factors. These include: integration of agencies, geographic dispersion of those in need, accessibility factors, funding and staff limitations, orientation of workers to client needs and allocation of staff time. Despite this focus on local conditions, inquiry should always raise the question: "What caused these local conditions?" In this way, analysis searches for those "root causes" of ineffectiveness. For the present, though, this chapter selectively looks at local factors, always keeping in mind that these are affected by broader conditions. The links between local and higher-level policy making, planning, and implementation will be suggested in the concluding section.

The second characteristic of this emerging explanation is that many elements of the explanation are themselves interrelated. For example, communication difficulties between service givers and Native clients are probably consequences of cultural barriers.

Social and economic nature of the Native Community

The first set of problems in providing services to Native people, particularly as identified by the agency heads and service staff of service organizations, refers to the general characteristics of the agency environment. This includes the social and economic characteristics of the Native community itself, the relations between service organizations, Native leadership and Native organizations, and the demographic characteristics of the Native clientele.

Factors like the geographic dispersion of Natives, reserve-city mobility, poverty, restricted economic opportunities and poor relations with Native organizations, all hamper the provision of resources to Native people.

What all these environmental characteristics have in common is their capacity to limit the resources (money, time, information) available to agencies and clients for the provision and use of services.

Accessibility

The accessibility of services to those in need is potentially hampered by many factors, including geographical distance, awareness of programs, eligibility criteria and the like. Client resources such as time, money, transportation and motivation can potentially reduce the barriers introduced by the above types of objective factors.

To understand accessibility, one ideally must look at the complicated interrelationships between these factors. The previous discussion of the social and economic nature of the Native community identified some factors that limited accessibility (e.g. limited finances, geographical dispersion). Information, as a resource that can help or hinder accessibility, will be treated in a later section.

It is offered as speculation that where there are low levels of motivation to seek services because of poor service reputation, the distance, time and money will act as stronger barriers to access. In other words, when people hear that services are bad, they don't want them, and are more likely to use their limited time and money on other things.

Accessibility of Services

Attention now turns to the institutional practices affecting accessibility. Over two-third of all agencies would serve any Native person who lives in or comes to the community (i.e. regular commuters or transients).

More than eight out of every 10 agencies accept walk-in clients, but only about one-half of all agencies have staff on call for after-hours emergencies.

Accessibility to agency services is restricted in nine-tenths of the agencies by eligibility rules. Eligibility rules mostly concern:

- the client's needs or problem,
- residence in the community or nearby area,
- age of the client.

One-tenth of the Task Force agency sample has special eligibility criteria for Native people. These criteria in almost every case make special allowances for Natives to be served at the agency. These special allowances are:

- Native clients being declared a special service group in the agency;
- agency rules and methods being altered to conform more closely to Native culture and needs;
- Native clients being served by a special agency staff cadre.

Others are restricted as to geographic location and other qualifications. When in desperate need of housing, this can seem very unjust.

There is no provision for old people from north of the city. If they require subsidized housing, they must come into the city and live with people they do not know, in surroundings they do not know (fieldworker's report).

With regard to non-Native run programs, those who get in are satisfied, but others are under much more pressure.

Many natives cannot afford expensive rates. (Low rental housing is available, but there is a long waiting list.) When a Native person applies for housing they are told there aren't any available and they can't tell when such would be vacant.

Although there have been recent changes, many available programs are seen to have eligibility restrictions. Sometimes the only program available in an area applies solely to status Indians. For example, in housing:

The only housing program available is off-thereserve housing, which is not available to non-status Natives. We would like a program to include all Natives. This program is set up to meet the needs of fully-employed (status) Natives "who can afford and understand what a 25 to 50-year mortgage is".

Program Utilization Skills and Knowledge

This last quotation highlights another factor affecting the effectiveness of some programs, namely that client users lack the appropriate skills and knowledge to assure the best use of the programs. For every human service program, one can usually identify a set of new *roles* that clients must

enact to make full and appropriate use of such resources. Some roles may be quite obvious such as "planning" or "money management" in using housing programs or social welfare. Others are somewhat subtle, as in the case of "specifying one's problem" during the intake process of a helping service. In cases where programs are put into place that require new roles or behaviors from people who, because of their social or cultural backgrounds, have neither the experience, knowledge, or attitudes to comply, then a problem of unintended institutional discrimination exists. Unfortunately, the difficulties resulting from the structural problem (e.g. silence, anger, confused communication, disinterest) are often defined by both service staff and client alike as individual problems. This must be kept in mind when reviewing later problems in service delivery.

Funding

The adequacy of program funding was criticized by various sources in the Task Force inquiries. The criticism touched on other aspects of financing too (e.g. lack of steady flow, time spent on proposals), particularly in Native organizations (see later section), but funding levels were cited as having negative effects on service quality.

Central Ontario communities have almost onehalf of both the *total* and the estimated *Native* populations. This should be compared to their having one-third of all clients and just over onequarter of Native clients reported. The central region also has just under one-half of all expenditures reported.

More details on finances are presented in Section Six.

Staff Client Caseloads

The average caseload of human service staff is 77 clients per worker. But the ratio of Native clients to Native staff is eight times higher — 572. Of course, non-Native staff also see Native clients, since only one per cent of service providers are Native compared to the average of six per cent of clients.

Patterns of Work

Another aspect of the organization of service that could affect the quality of service to clients is the structure of the service provider's work. A service professional's bundle of tasks is quite diverse, encompassing everything from administrative work and staff meetings to direct service with clients. Although there is always a tension in

keeping these tasks in balance (most people are critical of paper work), it is assumed that a staff worker's pattern of work would not favor one type of client over another. However, Task Force research found that on the average, a service worker's division of responsibilities was quite different for Native and non-Native clients.

- Service staff in human service organizations report spending less time in direct contact with Native compared to non-Native clients, and more time in paper work and administrative tasks (supervisor conferences, recording case material and contacting other agencies).
- Service staff also report doing more community-oriented work with/for Native clients.

Different groups can have varying influences on what services are provided and how they are provided. Depending on the type of service being provided, a service worker must often resolve conflicts between supervisor expectations, limited resources, agency policy, political pressures, community expectations and his/her own professional sense of what is right. Added to these usual pressures in the human service field are the complexities of serving clients with diverse social situations and/or cultural backgrounds. Service work, then, is a constant tension between external forces and the service worker's own beliefs about what *ought* to be.

Task Force research documented the typical service worker's impressions of those factors most significant in work with Native clients.

In order of importance, service workers ranked the following factors as most influential in their work with Native clients:

- what the agency's Native clients want;
- what the individual staff person wants to do for the Native clients;
- what the agency administration needs; and what the community Native people and organizations want (tied in rank);
- what community business, political, and noncommunity officials want.

It appears from the above information and from staff ideas for change (to be reviewed later), that service work with Native people is quite *client-oriented*. Although this may seem an insignificant conclusion, it should be remembered that *anti-professional* feelings in society often centre on the legitimacy of professional *power* over the lives of people. The emergence of certain types of work as "professional" depends significantly on "society" granting certain types of people the right to identify problems and needs, and make recommendations for change. Native respondents are

seriously questioning this right in many instances (as will be noted in later sections) and are demanding a place in the whole service process. From the service-providers' perspective, as is indicated in the data above, there may be support for this participation.

Cultural inappropriateness of service

Perhaps the most recurring criticism of services was that they were not culturally appropriate for Native people. This expression, often made without elaboration, was used by both Native respondents and non-Native service agency staff.

A service is culturally inappropriate to a client group when its policies, goals, and practices do not respect or do not mesh with the cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors of the people.

Such differences may occur in the following ways:

- Definitions of problems may not agree, such as when Native people do not accept Children's Aid Society ideas of parental neglect or abuse.
- Cultural differences may surface when clients are expected to enact certain *roles* throughout the service period, such as arriving at predetermined meetings (despite different orientations to time) or providing information in certain ways and about certain things.
- Certain symbols and belief systems may pervade service intervention, as in the reference to the "white man's God" in Alcoholics Anonymous.
- The *structure* of the resource itself, whether material (e.g. housing space) or *organizational* (e.g. classroom control; individual versus group counselling) may be at odds with usual Native practices.
- Language is an important cultural element often impeding the orderly flow of communications; this was a frequently-mentioned issue in service delivery to Native people.

Whatever the specific cultural issues affecting service, the notions of "cultural inappropriateness", "cultural barriers", "lack of sensitivity to Native people", were heard again and again throughout Task Force studies.

The frustrations experienced in the cultural barrier between an agency and its Native client, and the value of reducing the gap, were expressed in a number of different ways by agency heads and service staff. Important resource needs of agencies, for example, were identified to make staff more aware of Native people. The importance of including Native clients in planning and building bridges to the Native community are also cases in point. Sometimes the frustrations of cultural barriers were expressed quite directly. For example:

Direct service staff and agency heads named communication and cultural barriers as among the top two most serious problems in serving Native clients.

The concern over cultural inappropriateness was similarly expressed by the staff of Native organizations. This was particularly evident in the number of times that "desirability of Native staff", "training non-Native staff for culture sensitivity", "increased Native input", were suggested in consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of existing services for Native people (... Key Informant Study, 1981).

When the Native clients of various services and agencies were asked to rate their experiences, the results suggest possible wide divergence and experiences with cultural insensitivity and inappropriateness. Clearly, there is a problem, but not one of such magnitude that all services can be dismissed.

- Native respondents who had used service agencies tended to be split evenly in their assessments of agency sensitivity.
- Considerable evidence exists that a large number of the more positive assessments go to either Native-run or Native-oriented agencies. Friendship centres and DIAND offices receive more positive assessment on sensitivity (even though over one-third of DIAND ratings were low); experiences with welfare and unemployment insurance offices by urban Native clients seem to be most negative, with approximately one-half the ratings specifying low sensitivity in each case.

More evidence for the extreme concern about the cultural inappropriateness of community and government agencies will become apparent when ideas on future directions are considered later in the report.

Communication problems with Native Clients

Barriers in communication between service staff and Native clients constitute another problem in service delivery. Such barriers were spoken of in connection with cultural problems and staff competence, as well as a partial justification for needing Native staff. In a very real sense, then, communicational difficulties may be viewed as one outcome of cultural barrier problems.

One previous study of employment counselling indicates that counsellors have difficulties counselling Native people because of face-to-face communication problems, cultural differences and a gap in the knowledge of Native culture (Native Canadian Centre of Toronto and CEIC, 1976).

Communication, of course, is a two-way process. It can be strained by both the behaviors and the influence, or interpretations, of all parties. We have alluded to language problems above. In addition to these, several dimensions of the communication problem were suggested by different parts of our research:

- perceptions by Native respondents that some service staff were not aware of or sensitive to their needs, with the staff failing to show empathy;
- difficulties in establishing, through discussion, the exact nature of the problem;
- a perception, by some Native respondents, that judgments or labels were being imposed, rather than the communication of acceptance;
- asking of detailed questions;
- insufficient awareness of Native cultural and social situations, which was taken as a sign of discrimination.

Native People on Staff

All things being equal, having Native people on the staff of human service organizations can fulfil at least two functions: they can provide service to their own people when needed and they can educate and advise their colleagues about Native needs and appropriate services. For many Native respondents, Native staff also seems to enhance

the *trust* necessary in an unpredictable service relationship. Although trust is a complex attitude, one element is the client's belief that staff are acting *in his/her best interests*. When service is not immediately successful (e.g. housing units, jobs or training classes aren't available) or doesn't quite live up to client expectations, trust tends to keep the client-staff or client-agency relationship *intact*. The following quotation from Fieldworker Notes, when compared to other reactions to CEIC service,* illustrates this point of view.

She found the three Native people on the Manpower staff quite sensitive to her needs. They contacted her when a suitable job came along, but somehow, she never got it, usually because of "lack of experience". She said of the Manpower staff, "It's not their fault if there are no jobs." (Urban Natives and Their Communities, 1981, Vol. I).

Task Force research found that:

- in human service agencies surveyed, about one per cent of all staff are Native people;
- in southern agencies, Native people constitute much less than one per cent of staff; but in the north they make up about 18 per cent of staff;
- two-thirds of all agencies have no Native staff members at all (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

In recent times there has, in fact, been *little* effort to recruit Native staff. The principle reasons are:

- restraints on staff positions and/or funding restraints,
- the agency's emphasis on competence rather than the applicant's race.

Almost all agencies that did make efforts to recruit Natives were successful, hiring an average of three Native staff recruits. These recruitment efforts were also judged to be successful. In postulating reasons for this success, agencies mentioned that full-time Natives were hired with the result that better service to clients ensued.

Native Client/Staff Ratio

To this point, clients and staff have mostly been considered as separate independent factors in assessing human service resources for urban Native service users. Here, these two elements are combined to illustrate a particular problem in one region. In terms of staff agencies, central Ontario possesses two-thirds of the total agency staff reported, but only one-fifth of Native staff.

Perhaps more critical, is that three per cent of central Ontario's population is Native people, five per cent of reporting agency clients is Native, but under one-half per cent of reporting agency staffs is Native people. If a principal function of Native staff is to function as the main service providers to Native clients, then there appears to be a huge shortfall in Native staff in central Ontario facilities: there are 17 times as large a proportion of Native clients over the proportion of Native staff.

Excepting only the northwestern part of the province, all regions have a gap between Native client proportions and Native staff, with the worst case being in the central region of the province.

The northwestern agencies, having had more Native staff to start with, are better able to match Native clients to Native staff. But even there, the Native client-to-staff ratio is over 300 to 1. The greater need in the northwest reporting agencies probably is for a larger staff: this region has three per cent of the total staff, compared to six per cent of the entire population in the 32 communities, and 10 per cent of all clients.

Native Volunteers

One way to supplement staff is through the use of volunteers. Nearly two-thirds of those agencies in cities or towns possessing a high Native concentration use volunteers. This is truer in the south than the north.

Compared to the large number of agencies that have volunteers, only a very few have *Native* volunteers. Almost all of these agencies that do are in the north. Of the agencies that do have volunteers, two-thirds of them have NO Native volunteers. In contrast, most northwestern agencies both use volunteers and have Native volunteers.

Staff Educational Opportunities

Almost all human service agencies conduct inservice training for their service staff and/or have special opportunities for staff training (e.g. educational leave, time off, financial support).

^{*} See later section, Client Attitudes and Behavior, for some comparative quotations.

Most staff informants reported recent use of these opportunities, usually in the form of in-service training, and "other" methods (books and journals purchased by the agency, attending conferences).

Despite these frequent opportunities for inservice training and the apparent motivation of staff to avail themselves of such opportunities, only a small minority of agencies provide staff training in Native cultural awareness. (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

Staff Orientation

The numbers and qualities of staff were frequently mentioned in the assessment of service effectiveness for Native clients. From the perspective of Native organization staff, the inclusion of Native people as staff members was repeatedly mentioned as the solution to culturally-inappropriate policies and service practices, as well as to problems in face-to-face communication.

Many of the critical comments levelled against local service staff identified existing agency conditions that were affecting the staff's work.

These included: the lack of a preventative service viewpoint, inappropriate programs for Native clients, the absence of certain services, unclear job descriptions, no participation in decision-making, large caseloads, insufficient funding and a lack of other material facilities. In addition to these, and the communicational difficulties reviewed earlier, other more-directed comments were made:

- Some staff are not suitably trained to work with Native clients.
- Some are biased against Natives and make discriminatory decisions.
- Others seem to ignore or lack sensitivity to the special needs and problems of Native clients.

In addition to being disturbed by the same issues that usually trouble service clients in general, Native respondents clearly do register concerns that are distinctive to them as Native people. That these concerns are not merely one-way perceptions is reflected in the information obtained from staff of service organizations.

- When agency directors were asked to identify the major problems they faced in providing service to Native clients, one in 10 answers emphasized the lack of staff orientation to Native culture or insufficiency of skills to work effectively with Natives.
- Service staff were asked to compare the effectiveness of various agency characteristics for their total clientele, and for Native clients. Four out of 10 people rated staff training as providing little or no benefits for their clients. This should be compared to two out of 10 who made the same judgments for their clientele as a whole.

In sum, although it appears that substantial variations exist across the province, and across service areas, in the qualities of staff service to Native client, there nevertheless is a recognized problem.

Client Attitudes and Behaviors

In the previous section, the social, economic and cultural factors affecting the provision of services to Native clients have been reviewed. Ultimately, these factors affect service in the direct face-toface encounters between staff and clients. The "larger" factors are not visible in such encounters: rather, only behaviors are seen and attitudes are inferred. On the one side, staff are viewed by Native clients as judgmental, uncaring, overly inquisitive, insensitive, oblivious to cultural differences, and unskilled. From the perspectives of directors and service staff, many service problems are attributed to client characteristics. These constitute the last major category of problems and, in many cases, are outcomes of those cultural and environmental factors previously discussed.

Client behaviors and attitudes in obtaining or using services constituted 16 per cent of the service problems identified by directors, and 10 per cent of those mentioned by service providers.

Such factors run the full gamut — basic mistrust of service agencies, apathy and refusal of service, lateness for appointments, not following up on service, feelings of homesickness and loneliness, unfamiliarity with city agencies, a lack of self-confidence, not following agency rules, etc.

It is clear that such feelings and behaviors, whether actually true or only thought to be true by agency people, are complex in their substance or origins. In one way or another, they are probably linked to migration experience, personal and

historical Native-White relations, the social and economic conditions of Native service users, and a general unfamiliarity with urban service institutions.

From the client viewpoint, the feelings and attitudes of Native clients are expressed quite clearly in the following critical comments concerning their experiences with CEIC employment offices:

Manpower service is good if a Native person has a skilled trade.

You don't understand the forms; they don't help you.

Staff should learn to treat people well, not as cattle to be shoved through a system, better counselling and take more time to get to know the people.

Manpower isn't too helpful ... They have you fill out a paper and they put you on file and let you know that they will get in touch with you when something comes up ... I had to go out and get jobs myself with no help from Manpower.

Lack of Information

One of the most generalized previous research findings on the subject of access to programs is that potential Native service users do not have suitable information about available resources. This seems particularly true for services in the areas of employment, justice, housing, and health care. A recent study in a large city uncovered criticism of local Native organizations for not providing adequate information (Bobiwash and Malloch, 1980).

In previous sections, we saw that urban Native respondents appear to be needy and are relatively high users of many human service organizations. Even so, obtaining information about service programs can be a problem, as will be shown shortly.

How adequate are existing lines of communication for Native people concerning available services? To the best of our knowledge, based on reports from Native and non-Native organizational staff, the answer is slightly "inadequate".

The sources of data on service program information and problems were the staff members of Native organizations, Native users and potential service users, and the heads and service givers of human service organizations.

- Native organizational staff members were dissatisfied with the ways Native people find out about programs in the most important service areas.
- There is evidence that dissatisfaction is greater in the following areas: housing, recreation, cultural awareness, and education. The non-staff members of the Native community are much more likely to identify informational problems in the employment area.
- Among the reasons for Native under-utilization of their services, service agency directors and staff claimed that Native people were unaware of their agency's services. This service staff response was the second most frequently mentioned reason.

The main sources of program information, according to Native organizational staff, are formal Native sources (groups, organizations, centres, and publications), informal Native sources ("mocassin telegraph", word-of-mouth), non-Native government community agencies or staff, the mass media and official documents (flyers, posters). There is some evidence that urban Natives use different sources for meeting different needs. For example, there is more use of Native organizations to find out about housing and employment programs, and least use for data on health services, recreational and educational opportunities (for other variations, see ... A Key Informant Study, 1981).

Information about available *housing* was a particularly scarce resource among the non-staff members of the Native community. The following observations support this conclusion:

- When Native people were asked to name the kinds of information that would give them a better life, information on housing was the second most frequent, followed closely by cultural awareness and recreational information. The *most* frequently mentioned informational resource related to employment.
- Two hundred and seventy-one (70 per cent of the same sample) felt that housing programs could be better administrated. When asked to recommend improvements, the third most frequently mentioned improvement was information to Native people on what is available and how to gain access to programs.

An extract from a Task Force report on housing in Sault Ste. Marie states:

 Too few people know about the OMNSIA program or about other local government programs for improvements ... the program is so limited in scope that out of 400 Native families in the local area, only three have applied ... there is one (OMNSIA) representative to cover a very wide area.

Attempted Solutions

As stated earlier, two possible solutions to meet the needs of Native service users are the provision of *special needs programs* for Native people, and the provision of services through *Native organizations*. Attention is now turned to their effectiveness.

The Impact of Agencies' Native Programs

A special analysis was carried out to find the agency or community factors most related to Native service provision. This was done to aid future policy and program action by the Task Force, and to provide further indications concerning the kinds of communities and agencies in which a particular kind of strategy might best apply.

The factor that emerged as having the most impact on the provision of service to Native users in these urban places was whether an agency had a special Native service program. This may at first appear either "readily predictable", or "already known". To our knowledge, this is the first time such a relationship has been established empirically within the Ontarian and Canadian context. Moreover, the agency implications that are associated with having, or not having, an in-situ Native-specialized program go far beyond the mere specialization of one or more particular services. Possessing a Native service has associations that go (or derive from) deep into the values, structure and processes of these agencies, making them different from other agencies in almost every respect. The accompanying characteristics of an agency that has a specialized Native program, in short, extend considerably beyond what the "common sense" or experience and knowledge about such agencies would suggest. Special Native programs are more often an agency feature in:

- smaller communities,
- communities with a higher proportion of Native residents.
- agencies with many staff,
- agencies with more Native staff.

The association of number of Native clients, total staff and Native staff can be interpreted to indicate three sequences of agency development of Native services.

- 1. The large number of Native clients in an agency causes a large number of total staff, which leads to the development of one or more specialized Native programs, leading the agency to hire Native staff for this program, OR
- an agency, already possessing a large staff, develops a special Native program that attracts large numbers of Native clients, and hires Native staff sometime during this sequence, OR
- 3. the Native staff already in an agency with some Native clientele is successful in having a special Native service program implemented. Because of these services, more Native clients are attracted to the agency.

It is likely that each of the explanatory sequences has been applicable to some agencies, although the first and second sequences appear more probably over the broad range of agency conditions at the time.

Human service agencies with at least one kind of specialized program, or other resource for Natives are:

- more likely to report an increase in Native clients:
- above average in their number of services with increased clients:
- developing new Native services;
- reporting that Native clients are using their service to the fullest, but are
- unable to meet Native demand for service;
- planning a new Native service, and have applied for funds;
- more likely to have Native people involved in planning;
- more likely to have Native staff;
- lower in their ratio of all clients to total agency staff, but
- higher in their ratio of Native clients to Native staff;
- trying to recruit Native volunteers;
- more likely to involve outsiders (including Native people) in their planning;
- more likely to have Native people on their governing boards;
- more likely to plan in conjunction with other agencies.

(An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

Special Resources for Natives: Summary

An agency's having one or more specialized Native services is part of an entire pattern in an agency, a fact that indicates the existence of a fundamentally different set of service delivery values, structure and processes. The effects of specialized Native services in these agencies are profound, for they influence virtually every aspect of governance, planning and service provision. Information, only summarized here, also demonstrated that these agencies are very supportive of the philosophies and agency arrangements that are more compatible with Native culture and practice than are the agencies without any Native services.

The principal dysfunctional aspect in all this is that because of the large numbers and share of Native clients served in agencies with Native programs, compared to their Native staff numbers, there is an imminent need for many more Native staff.

Native Organizations

As indicated in the previous section, numerous Native organizations provide service to Native people off-reserve.

Task Force studies found that Native organizations not only provide a variety of activities and services, but are also thought to be doing a good job. The staff of Native and non-Native organizations spoke highly of such agencies, and often identified local Native organizations as doing "the best job" for Native service users.

In addition, as a later section notes, directors and service staff of service organizations would like to see closer relations with Native organizations. It is anticipated that this would improve planning for Native-oriented services, enhance the dissemination of program information and generally improve the quality of service to Native clients. Finally,

Native users of services gave Native organizations the best assessment in terms of service usefulness, sensitivity to Native people and staff quality.

Despite the positive image and the optimism of future agency relations, everything is not rosy with Native organizations, at least according to Native organization staff perceptions.

To obtain a general reading on their function, one Task Force research project probed Native organizations by asking for staff perceptions of their most serious problems. Their responses indicate the following problems, starting with those most frequently mentioned.

- Financial problems head the list, not only in terms of inadequate funding, but also the lack of consistent, dependable financing, delays in payments, dependence on short-term grants, and limited knowledge of funding sources. Financial problems cause low morale, excessive time spent on funding applications and reports, the curtailment of needed programs and services, difficulty in transportation and (due to inconsistency of funding) the perpetuation of irregular work patterns and job descriptions.
- Staff problems also were frequently identified, other than those attributed to financial problems. These included insufficient staff, overwork, lack of skill and knowledge, lack of commitment and confidence, and turnover.
- Problems with the general community were mentioned third most frequently: cultural conflict, apathy, lack of awareness and publicity, and problems with other agencies.
- Member support was also a serious problem, including such symptoms as low membership, membership conflict, transience, infrequent meetings, lack of recruitment efforts and the like.
- Internal/external organization and management problems were reflected in such things as poor organization of meetings, failure to delegate, lack of long-range planning, inadequate managerial expertise, political problems and strained relations with head offices.
- Problems linked to the Native community were next on the list, including references to a lack of confidence and unity, a limited awareness of rights, limited expectations, jealousy, support from only a limited cross-section of the community and strained relations with other Native organizations.
- Lack of physical facilities. References were made to limited space for offices, meeting places and social events.
- The nature of programs and activities themselves were well down the list of problems. Most references to programs referred less to content and more to program implementation (e.g. program discontinuation, program dissemination, and the lack of follow-up programs).

It is noteworthy that many problems identified above are similarly faced by other service organizations, particularly in times of economic restraint. Also noteworthy are the several problems somewhat unique to the Native community. On the one hand, Native agencies are struggling to service

their own people's needs as much as possible, a struggle seemingly supported by other service providers. Yet the transience demonstrated by many Native respondents, the political and cultural differences within the community, competition for funds between organizations (some say this is caused by government funding policies), and the limited expertise within the community, all enhance the difficulties in achieving success.

Finally, Task Force research found that the staff of human service organizations and Native organizations have some common characteristics, and some differences. In *both* types of organizations, approximately two-thirds of the staff are mainly women who have lived in their communities for quite some time. However, the most noteworthy difference is in educational background.

Although the staff members of Native organizations are well educated relative to the general Native population, on the whole they are less well educated than the staff of human service organizations.

In a later section, it is stated that the linkages between non-Native human service organizations and other organizations, including Native ones, are not strong. In contrast, within the Native community, the bridges *between* Native organizations are comparatively strong.

One in three staff members of Native organizations have close ties with *other* Native organizations in the community.

The general picture obtained from these disparate pieces of information is one of segregation between the Native and non-Native communities in their efforts to pursue some common causes. This current tendency towards segregation may constitute a significant constraint on the possible establishment of new educational functions for Native agencies in relation to human service organizations (see Section Six). With the evident differences in formal education between Native and non-Native staff, and assuming that a breakdown in this segregation is desired, the potential is there for a two-way learning process.

Conclusions

The purpose of the preceding section was to examine some explanations for the ineffectiveness and under-utilization of service programs where such outcomes exist. Recognizing that agency or community-level explanations are limited, the following broad generalizations are offered as plausible explanations:

- 1. There is a problem of accessibility for Native users to some human service organizations. Accessibility is hampered by ineffective dissemination of program information, inadequate relations with Native organizations (hampering information flow), financial limitations of potential Native clients, geographical dispersion and mobility, and eligibility criteria. As well, the negative attitudes and mistrust toward some services increase the strength of above barriers to access.
- 2. The actual provision of services to Native users is hampered by agencies that are not well organized for providing culturally-appropriate services. Factors limiting such services are:
 - limited numbers of Native staff:
 - staff-client ratios that do not favor the possibility of Natives being served by Natives;
 - limited opportunities for staff training in Native cultural awareness;
 - few Native volunteers:
 - strained or limited involvement with Native organizations;
 - institutional practices requiring culturallyinappropriate behavior from Native clients, or behavior for which they lack knowledge and skills;
 - limited numbers of "special" needs programs and resources;
 - funding levels.
- 3. Although service staff show strong client-centred attitudes, they are limited in their skills, knowledge and amount of time available for direct service to Native clients. Administration and liaison with other agencies are particularly limiting factors in the case of service to Natives.
- 4. The work of Native organizations, although generally valued, is hampered by:
 - limited finances,
 - limited staff skills and knowledge,
 - organizational inefficiency,
 - inadequate Native community support,
 - poor relations with other community agencies.
 - divisions within the Native community.

This "diagnosis" of service-provision problems comes mainly from people at the local level: directors, service staff, Native organizations, and clients. The next section examines solutions to these, and the general problems of urban Native people.

Future Directions: Ideas from The Field

Introduction

In previous sections, the problems facing Native people in urban environments have been identified. Both regular and Native-oriented major resources have been reviewed as well. In the preceding section, the problems in delivering services to Native people, as reported by Native people and by service agency staff, were discussed.

This section turns to the identification of future directions for change, since these are recommended by service deliverers (both Native and non-Native) and other members of the Native community. The specific sources of information for this section are:

- community agency directors and service staff recommendations for improving the services to Native clients;
- Native organizational staff members' ideas for improving local programs and services;
- ideas on self-help solutions, based on 32 community meetings with Native people, and one research conference;
- Native community members' ideas for change that would improve their quality of life;
- the description of perceived resource needs in the previous section.

The ideas in this section are not those of the Task Force, but are the ideas from the communities on what change *ought* to occur. Such "ought" ideas are important to know for future planning purposes because:

- "ought" ideas can either help or hinder those changes actually put into effect at the implementation phase;
- "ought" ideas, when examined for different service areas, different people and different regions, help planners become aware of the vagaries in local conditions in which policy and program implementation will occur;
- people, all people, have learned to expect to participate in the determination of their community and professional lives a standard strongly reflected in our own data. One way of doing this is through sharing ideas and experiences. To ignore these human realities is to invite the alienation of those who will be affected by policy and program development, inviting an ultimate resistance to change.

Whereas "ought" ideas are ideas about what is desirable, there is no guarantee that the recommended changes will actually occur. This will be determined mainly by Era II and its broad social and political context. The *self-help solutions*, on the other hand, are closer to what is immediately

possible. In fact, many of the community-recommended processes have already occurred and have brought about local changes.¹

Self-help solutions, as listed in Appendix II, are a compilation of ideas from *various* communities. As such, some will be read and discussed by those in communities unfamiliar with them. The *action research* approach adopted by the Task Force is a good vehicle for *stimulating* new ideas, *sharing* and *educating*. Integration of the general change principles, specific self-help ideas, and *local conditions* should happen in Era II.

Root Causes, Problems and Recommended Changes

At the outset, it should be conveyed in the strongest possible terms that all our sources indicated that improving the lot of urban Native service users requires more than a modification of service institutions. As a general commentary on the data in this and previous sections, it is clear that urban Native people are affected by conditions inherent in the very fabric of society. Such conditions touch employment and educational institutions, as well as service institutions. They are also evident in human attitudes *and* enduring rules, taken-for-granted assumptions, and daily living and working social arrangements.

Native respondents have, probably quite correctly, associated their most serious quality of life problems with *low employment opportunities* and limited education (see Table 23). The difficulties in obtaining work have been linked to the unavailability of jobs and the attitudes, stereotypes and misunderstandings held towards them by the dominant white society. Some of the *consequences* of these difficulties include low incomes, inadequate housing and alcohol abuse. These factors, in turn, cause *further difficulties* in locating and holding jobs, difficulties in enhancing skills and motivation to do better, and having the financial resources to use such community resources as recreation and retraining programs.

The strong impression gained through the research is that Native respondents are looking toward less "band-aid" or symptom-removal interventions, and more *preventative work* and fundamental social change to open up equal opportunities for education, employment, and housing.

In direct response to a community meeting, the Kapuskasing Town Council recommended: participation by Native people in the (current) housing study and ensured equal opportunity regarding prospective tenancy. It was also recommended that Northern College provide free facilities for Native language instruction and that a review of CEIC (area) policies be done to ensure support for Native people.

The directors and service providers of human service organizations also recognize the problems in the socio-economic structure of society. Such problems are seen to create a service-dependent clientele and also hamper the provision of service. This recognition is reflected in the *large proportion*

Table 23

What are Native people's priorities for change?

The most serious urmet needs, as seen by staff members of Native organizations are . . .

Housing	94	(17.6%)
Cultural awareness	81	(15.2%)
Employment	68	(12.7%)
Solutions to alcohol abuse	48	(9.0%)
Education	47	(8.8%)
Family and children's resources	35	(6.6%)
Social welfare	35	(6.6%)
Justice	25	(4.7%)
Youth resources	25	(4.7%)
Recreation	23	(4.3%)
Women's resources	16	(3.0%)
Health and nutrition	-11	(2.1%)
Other	21	(3.9%)

The most important local changes to improve the quality of life, as recommended by Native respondents are . . .

Employment opportunities	79	(16.5%)
More Native organizations and		
programs	47	(9.8%)
Housing	46	(9.6%)
Improve communications and attitudes		
between Natives and non-Natives	37	(7.7%)
Recreational opportunities	35	(7.3%)
Cultural awareness	31	(6.5%)
Solutions to alcohol abuse	26	(5.4%)
Education	19	(3.9%)
Increased Native involvement in local		
politics	15	(3.1%)
Changes in justice system	13	(2.7%)
Improvements in the Native community	y	
(leadership, support of Native		
programs)	12	(2.5%)
Social welfare changes	11	(2.3%)
Children and family resources	11	(2.3%)
Other	28	(5.8%)

Note: the numbers and percentages refer to the number of mentions and not to the number of people.

who recommend various changes in the socio-economic environment of the agency as a way of improving service to Native service users. Changes of this type would recognize that (despite possible good intentions) social institutions that are fundamentally organized from a dominant white cultural perspective complicate both access and meaningful involvement (e.g. through difficult eligibility criteria, the skills and knowledge necessary to participate usefully in such institutions as training programs, or through culturally-alien content as is found in the school system).

The most frequently mentioned informational and community change that would improve the quality of life related to the enhancement of employment opportunities, including more jobs, job service centres, employment counselling and the like (see Urban Natives and Their Communities, Volume II, 1981).

Educational systems are good examples of urban institutions that have not allowed Native people to develop the knowledge and skills necessary for a decent quality of life. The poor success rate of Native students reflects their alienation from the curriculum, the counselling resources, uncaring teachers and from the existing practices of teaching and learning.

Native respondents' hopes, a) for alternative Native schools, b) for influencing the school—through participation—towards more sensitivity and responsiveness, c) for curriculum changes and d) for having more Native people in teaching and counselling positions, all point to significant change directions.

Opportunities for adult education, particularly to upgrade basic skills and/or to prepare adequately for jobs is another high priority. Native respondents, because of their earlier education and general cultural background, do not have the positive learning experiences, the basic knowledge or the necessary classroom *role skills* (e.g. assertive behavior, hand-raising, asking questions) for full realization of training opportunities. In many cases, limited incomes and geographical distance hamper the full use of existing training programs.

Although our study respondents had few specific directions for changes in adult education, there was a feeling that Native adults needed better opportunities for upgrading and job training to prepare for chances of ultimately obtaining good jobs. On-the-job training seemed to be preferential to classroom instruction.

Although improvements in educational opportunities were generally emphasized, it is instructive to note that education was given higher priorities for change among Native organizational staff than among other respondents from the Native community. Enhanced recreational opportunities were given a higher priority among the latter (Table 23).

The concern over inadequate housing was shared by all members of the Native community. Housing costs, of course, loom large for all people in the current economic and housing environment. This is particularly true for those with lower incomes. Added to the economic aspects of housing is the factor of discrimination. Some landlords have negative images of Native people and are unwilling to agree to the Native communal custom of sharing facilities with friends and family. In some communities, inequitable procedures and criteria for obtaining units in housing programs are also seen as hampering housing opportunities.

Although an improvement in economic status and income is appreciated as the main long-term solution to housing problems, most of the short-term solutions recommended emphasize the creation of more low-cost housing units.

The desire to change the socio-economic conditions that impede attainment of a desired quality of life is especially evident, particularly among Native organizational staff, in their attitudes towards welfare.

Native respondents do not want a dependency on welfare. Instead, they want more jobs, supplementary life skill training opportunities for those on welfare, and the support of community project work.

The previous discussion of the preventative type of changes sought in basic urban social and economic structures should not obscure the very strong desires for both Native and non-Native cultural awareness. The issue is both simple and complex.

A clear message from Native participants in Task Force studies was that an awareness, sensitivity and respect for Native culture should be built into urban institutions.

The product of such changes would include the breakdown of stereotypes, negative images and the like. Other consequences, hinted at in the discussions of cultural awareness, are that this recognition of Native culture makes urban Natives sufficiently "at home" and unique within the dominant society to psychologically aid them in the pursuit of *whatever goals* they choose. For those non-assimilated Native people, and there

may be many, the opportunities for pursuing traditional Native ways, or some *emerging* urban/Native cultural ways, are made both feasible and acceptable by enhanced cultural awareness opportunities. Attention is now turned to cultural awareness and the service-providing institutions.

Suggestions for Improving Services

In Section 3, it was indicated that government policy-making and program development officers saw a number of problems in implementing policies and programs for Native clients. Such difficulties included numerous factors, ranging from the lack of good statistics on urban Native people and problems in Native organizations, to cultural differences and negative stereotypes. In the previous section, problems in providing services to Natives were reviewed from the perspectives of those working in Native and non-Native agencies, as well as from the clients' viewpoints. This analvsis showed that considerable dissatisfaction exists with the quality of services available to Native people. The common factor is that human service institutions are not organized for service delivery to Native people, despite the policy intentions (noted in Section 3 of this report) that services and programs should be appropriate for all people.

Service institutions have neither the attitudinal support from policy-makers, nor the financial backing, staff skills and attitudes, planning opportunities and local community support, for such a policy. This over-all image is supported by service agency staff and Native community members alike. We may now turn to specific issues.

In this section, ideas for improving the quality of service to Native service users are presented. These are:

- ideas referring to external changes: program and service sponsorship, financial support, the attitudes of government policy-makers, need analysis and community changes;
- ideas referring to internal agency changes: size and specialization, programs and activities, service methods, staff knowledge and staff attitudes:
- ideas referring to the agencies' relationship with their environments: advertising, linkage with other agencies, consultation.

External Changes

Many of the recommended changes for enhancing the quality of service centred on the environment of agencies. The term "environment" is used broadly to refer both to the government (financial resources support, human attitudes and priorities, government level planning processes) and the conditions in the local community (community service structures and quality, the level of community growth).

Finances. Although it is clear that additional finances are identified as important for service improvement, it is also clear that this is not a recommendation that dominates all others. Out of five questions in two research projects concerning recommended improvements, the recommendation for additional financing appears as only one among six or seven other usual recommendations. More importantly, the proportion of answers specifying augmented financial support ranges from about 11 per cent to 16 per cent. The exception to this is the situation with Native organizations, where financial difficulties are much more strongly emphasized (see ... Key Informant Study, 1981). To be more specific about the information prompting the above comments:

- human service agency staff believe that government, or other agencies, could help their agency serve Native users better by allocating new monies for special needs programs (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).
- the same sample believed that money from new sources would assist the agency and agency staff in providing better quality service;
- the staff members at Native organizations recommended that additional financial support was necessary to improve their local services to Native users. (Urban Native Resource Needs and Service Assessment: A Key Informant Study, Part IV).

Attitudes. That Native needs and services are not receiving high priority and importance within high-level planning circles is a perception that pervades many answers, and community discussions, among Native respondents. Such feelings were supported by Task Force research with service agency service personnel. When asked to suggest solutions to the most serious problems in serving Native clients, many personnel proposed solutions that emphasized changes in attitudes and priorities in government planning.

Needs Analysis. It was stated in Section Three that government policy planners and program developers recognized the difficulties in identifying the needs of urban Native service users. One of the demography studies also concluded that the available statistics on urban Native people were inconsistently used in government, academic and Native circles. The problems inherent in a lack

of appropriate needs analyses at the government level are also recognized by the community level service personnel:

To the question on suggested solutions for more appropriately serving Native clients, about 15 per cent of the responses called for more or better *needs analyses* at government planning levels.

Community Changes. In addition to these government-level factors, several different changes in the local community environment were recommended by both Native and service agency respondents. These changes covered structural factors like relations between community agencies, and individual changes such as training.

Training. Training opportunities for Native people, and the improvement of Native-run agencies, were generally recognized as useful solutions to the problems in providing services to Native clients. It was reported earlier that 16 per cent of the identified problems in Native organizations relate to staff problems. When asked for solutions to their own problems in service effectiveness, non-Native agency staff (nine per cent of agency directors and 14 per cent of direct service staff) referred to Native training needs and to the general improvement of Native agencies. Such training is assumed to help inter-agency professional relations and efficiency (Table 25).

Another high priority community change is the improvement of co-ordination between agencies in their service to Native clients. Service agency personnel and Native organizational staff identified this as a problem for their agencies. (See previous section on problems faced by Native organizations.) Nearly four out of 10 Native organizational staff see the relations between local agencies as "unco-operative".

- When asked for recommendations to improve the over-all local service delivery to Native clients, 13 per cent of the recommendations from Native organizational staff members called for a better integration of services. These suggestions ranked fourth among all suggestions (Table 24).
- When directors and staff of human service organizations were asked to identify the most important staff and agency needs to better serve Native clients, improved inter-agency co-ordination ranked second highest among the suggestions (Table 26).

Table 24

Improvements in services to Native clients as recommended by staff members of Native organizations

Improvements in general service system			Improvements in three most important service areas			Improvements in program most needing change		
Native staff or Native input	63	(19.2%)	Increase relevance to Natives (Native staff, culturally relevant content, Native input)	117	(26.1%)	Native staff, Native input	92	(31.2%)
Program additions	55	(16.7%)	Expanded/added services	139	(30.9%)	Expanded service or program	36	(12.2%)
Additional resources	44	(13.4%)	Funding	48	(10.7%)	More activities	36	(12.2%)
More information								
on programs	31	(9.5%)	Information	22	(4.9%)	Service charge	42	(14.3%)
Staff changes	46	(14.0%)	Staff training	20	(4.5%)	Staff changes (training, co-operation, sensitivity)	66	(22.4%)
Community integration	44	(13.4%)	New approach (policy, regulations)	42	(9.4%)	Policy and operations	36	(12.2%)
Other	38	(11.6%)	Other	61	(13.6%)	Other	2	(.7%)
None	16	(4.9%)						,

Note: Numbers and percentages are based on the number of mentions.

Table 25

Recommended solutions to problems in serving Native clients

Agency directors recom- mend		Agency service staff recommend		
1.	Hire Native staff (25%)	1.	Hire Native staff (32%)	
2.	Change agency policies, values and service methods (17%)	2.	Non-Native staff changes: more, in- crease awareness, service method changes (24%)	
3.	Improve communication and joint work with Native agencies (16%)	3.	Change agency policies, values and service methods (17%)	
4.	Native community, social and economic development (14%)	4.	Provide education and training to Native communities, agen- cies, leaders (14%)	
5.	Provide education and training to Native community, agencies and leaders (9%)	5.	Native community, social and economic development (5%)	
6.	No solution/don't know (10%)			

It was noted in an earlier section that agencies run by Native people were well respected by the staff of human service organizations. One part of the Task Force human services assessment study explored ways that Native agencies could assist other agencies in the delivery of services to Natives (see Table 26). The results of this probe reinforced the value of improved co-ordination between agencies within the community, as well as the importance of a general, over-all improvement in service quality. Of particular interest, though is that the staff of human service organizations (particularly the front-line service staff), see a unique role for Native agencies. That role would be to advise and teach other agencies about the needs of Native clients and their services. Almost one-third of the service staff responses emphasized this function (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981). This idea, along with previous calls for increased Native planning and evaluation input, and the general importance placed on building bridges between Native and non-Native agencies, expands the scope of potential roles for Native organizations.

Table 26

How can Native organizations help human service organizations provide better services to Native clients? (Director and service staff recommendations)

		Directors	Staff
•	Improve their services	39%	32%
•	Establish a closer co-ordination of their services with other community agencies	36%	34%
•	Advise and teach other agencies about Native people, their needs and appropriate services	16%	28%

Internal Changes

In this section the recommended internal agency changes for improving services to Native clients are considered. "Internal changes" refer both to working structures (agency, service, staff composition and work), and to the attitudes, skills, and knowledge of staff members. Most of the separate recommendations in this section point to a central concern, namely that agency institutions must be made more sensitive and responsive to their Native clientele. That this is viewed as a problem by both staff and Native respondents was seen again and again in Task Force projects, and was reviewed in previous sections. What is the range of recommended solutions?

Staff composition. It is uniformly agreed by Native and non-Native staff, and by previous clients, that staff in service agencies need to be more sensitive to the cultural backgrounds, social situations and needs of their Native clients. However, whereas staff members of Native organizations make a stronger case for Native staff, the staff of non-Native service organizations seem less decisive about this solution. Strong emphasis is given to enhancing the sensitivity and awareness of the most technically qualified staff. This is not to say that no support for employing Native staff exists among agency personnel. However, it is a preference clearly ranked below technical expertise and general sensitivity. To support these observations, consider the following research results:

When asked in an open-ended question to recommend solutions to the problems of serving Native clients, hiring Native staff comprised one-quarter of the solutions mentioned by agency directors and nearly one-third the solutions cited by staff people. This solution was the most frequently mentioned in both cases (Table 25).

Front-line service staff are more enthusiastic about hiring Native people than are their directors. To add to the possible ambiguity surrounding this solution, a question on the *ideal* preference among a range of optional staffing arrangements yielded slightly different results. Both service directors and agency staff gave more support to staff members who were *most qualified and or most sensitive* to Native culture and needs. Well behind these choices were the numbers supporting the idea of *Native* staff for Native clients.

Finally, when asked to consider the *total* agency and staff needs to better serve Native clients. both directors and service staff were likely to give higher priority to establishing communications and co-ordination with other agencies than to hiring Native staff.

Native respondents also strongly support the idea of increasing non-Native staff sensitivity and awareness, but hiring Native staff is a more appealing solution. In three separate pieces of information on their recommended improvements, hiring Native staff was among the most frequently mentioned solutions (see Table 24).

As well as specifying the addition of Native people on staff, increasing the general staff complements was also recommended (although not strongly) by Natives and non-Natives in two separate Task Force studies.

Staff attitudes and skills. A strong concern was voiced throughout Task Forces studies that agency service staff should develop greater sensitivity to the cultural background and needs of Native people. This was the third most frequently mentioned recommendation by service agency staff and directors when asked to specify agency and staff needs to offer better service to Native clients. Native agency staff, as indicated above, see this knowledge and sensitivity best created either through hiring Native staff or increasing Native input to program planning.

Apart from these specific staff-oriented changes, though, Native respondents frequently recommended improved staff functioning as at least one type of solution. For example, as is shown in

Table 24,

when the staff members of Native organizations were asked to recommend improvements in the local program (Native or non-Native) needing most improvement, 12 per cent of the responses pointed to staff training and 10 per cent called for the enhancement of co-operation, sensitivity and tolerance (fourth rank).

It should be recalled from the earlier discussion of staff competence (see Impact section) that Native respondents also saw the effects of agency conditions and policies on service staff ineffectiveness.

The structure of staff work. In a previous section, it was noted that Native organizational staff were dissatisfied with the amount of time they had to work on such bureaucratic matters as preparing funding proposals. Service agency staff were also critical of the paper work and other administrative activities (reports, liaison with other agencies, client representation) associated with client management, particularly in the case of Native clients (23 per cent of the time compared to four per cent for all clients). This dissatisfaction has an ironic twist, since previous research and the Task Force's own studies reveal that from the Native client perspective, some service agencies have an impersonal, bureaucratic atmosphere. Both staff and Native clients are troubled with the same issue! At any rate, it is the staff members of service agencies who most want a change in the administrative aspects of their work with Native clients.

Another aspect of the structure of service work with clients is the *type of service intervention*, i.e. whether it is directed to individuals or communities. The service to Native clients would be improved, it is argued, if more time were given to *group* work and community intervention. The cutback in the heavy administrative work could possibly allow this to happen.

Agency client and service specializations. Another dimension of recommended solutions to serving Native clients refers to what extent, if at all, the Native community should serve its own clients. In an earlier section, it was noted that Native organizations are in fact increasingly providing more and diverse services and activities. Task Force research suggests that neither Native organizational staff nor human service agency staff believe that all services should be provided by Native agencies. Although the information from the resource assessment study and the Native agency study is not directly comparable on this matter, it appears that a large proportion of both Native organizational staff and directors of service organizations — somewhere in the order of one-half —

believe that Native service users should only receive services at general service agencies along with everyone else. Others believe that some services are more appropriately provided by Native organizations (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

Over one-half of the most serious unmet needs identified by Native organization staff were thought best treated by non-Native agencies. The remainder, particularly those programs associated with cultural awareness, education, and drug and alcohol abuse, were seen as more appropriately provided by either Native organizations alone or in co-operation with non-Native organizations. Native agency service delivery was least wanted in the fields of social welfare, housing, employment, health and nutrition (see ... Key Informant Study).

Another structural characteristic of service agencies is their degree of *service specialization*. On the one hand, some agencies provide one or a few specialized activities; on the other hand, some agencies are large with many different types of services and are virtually able to meet most, if not all, people's needs. These options were also explored with the directors of service organizations, with the following results:

- Close to half of the respondents preferred many community agencies, some of which provide a variety of services and others, more specialized services.
- The next most frequently preferred approach was many community agencies, each providing specialized services (slightly over one-quarter of the sample).
- The least preferred option was the large, highlydiversified agency meeting most people's needs.
- In none of the above choices were there differences between what people wanted for Native clients and other clients.

Finally, there was no strong support from agency directors for a large diversified agency to serve only Native clients. Nearly 70 per cent of the sample showed little or no support for the idea (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

Service and program changes. Previous sections addressed those improvements emphasizing changes in who provides services, how, with what skills and knowledge, and within what organizational structures. However, there were also recommendations made for actual service and program

change, i.e. what was delivered. Such changes, involving either addition or expansion, were particularly evident in certain services (housing, recreation, health) but less so in others. In some service areas, the call is for different kinds of programming (e.g. preventative/educational work in alcohol, health services, justice and family-oriented counselling in the drug and alcohol field). In others, supplementary services to the core program resources were emphasized (e.g. house owning/budgeting counselling as supplements in housing programs, life skills training in social welfare). Finally, some recommended changes specify particular resources tailored to specific Native needs (e.g. Native foster and adoptive homes).

Changes in the content of programs and services were discussed by both *Native* organizational staff and the staff members of non-Native service agencies. Despite this general agreement, however, the former made such recommendations a higher priority than the latter. Whereas changes in such matters as "inter-agency co-ordination" and "communication with the Native community" were *most often* mentioned by non-Native service agency staff (see Table 25), program content issues were most often cited by those in Native organizations (Table 24).

Changes in agency policies, values and operations. In a real sense, a recommendation for changes in agency policies, values and operations is a summary response for most of what has been said in this section. Nevertheless, this type of attitude was expressed in a general way by Native respondents and agency staff alike (see Tables 24 and 25). It was argued that general changes in policy and values should make the service agencies more responsible to the cultural and social situation of their Native clientele. Another aspect of this, though, (and here the writer is taking some freedom to speculate) is that although a sense of necessary change is clear, the specific details and directions may not be.

The rankings of general policy and value changes were about the same in both studies, although the direct service staff gave slightly lower priority to such changes (Table 25).

Changes in relations between the agency and its external environment

In previous sub-sections, the recommendations have been organized to reflect the notion that some changes are outside the agency system and some are internal to the agencies themselves. Attention now is given to those recommended changes that would modify the agencies' relations with their local communities. In particular, the reference is primarily to the *Native* community, including the

Native organizations, the "informal" Native community, and its actual or potential clientele.

From the perspectives of the service agency staff (both directors and direct service-providers), services to Native clients would be improved if the agency could benefit from communications with the Native community and its organizations (Table 25). This notion is supported in principle by the staff members of Native organizations, with frequent mention of ideas like Native "input" and "involvement". One thing that seems far more of an issue to be solved with the Native agency staff is the ineffectiveness of communications about available programs and services (Table 24).

In Section Four, it was shown that for about one-half of the service agency front-line staff, Native people (clients, community, organizations) were seen as strongly influential in service delivery. However, based on inquiries about possible change, it appears that even *more* service staff (80 per cent) would like Native input into the service process. To summarize the findings from the Resource Assessment Study on this matter, the main differences between what is *now influential* in how staff persons serve Native clients and what they think *should be* influential are:

- a major increase in the influence of Native clients and the Native people and organizations in the community:
- a moderate increase in the control by the staff person over their own work with their Native clients.
- a major decrease in the influence of anything outside of Native people, and the Native client's worker (An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People, 1981).

Table 27

What does your agency or staff need in order to provide better service to Native clients?

Director and staff responses indicate the following priority rankings:

- 1. Better inter-agency co-ordination.
- Better means of communication with community Native people and their organizations.
- 3. Greater awareness of, and sensitivity to, Native culture.
- 4. Consultation to improve service to Native people.
- 5. Funding from new sources and/or better physical facilities.

This preference for input by the Native community is paralleled by the attitudes of staff members of Native organizations who *overwhelmingly* believe that Native people should have *more* influence in local service delivery (see ... Key Informant Study, 1981).

As a final general comment on agency-community relations, Native staff members perceive that resource improvements will only happen with an increased responsiveness and support from the broader Native community. This is a particular issue when considering the problems experienced by Native organizations (see ... Key Informant Study), but is also recognized as a general quality-of-life issue. For example, when our sample of Native community participants (non-staff sample) were asked to speculate on necessary community changes for improving their life, heightened Native pressure and involvement in major urban institutions (politics, education, etc.) was a frequently-mentioned solution (Table 23).

Consistency of Perceptions

In the foregoing analyses of major identified problems facing Native people in urban environments, and the problems and solutions in service delivery, there has been a consensus in most issues. However, at some points, certain differences in priorities seem to exist *within* the Native community and *between* Native and non-Native service organization personnel. These may be summarized as follows:

- Compared to the non-staff sample, staff members of Native organizations give slightly *more* emphasis to the importance of increased housing and cultural awareness opportunities (Table 23).
- The staff members of Native organizations give slightly less priority to the importance of establishing integration between Native organizations and non-Native service agencies (Table 24).
- Although both Native and non-Native staff support the idea of more Native people on the staff of service organizations, there may be uncertainty among the latter.

Barriers to Change

A number of specific change goals have been summarized to this point, as these were identified by the Native and non-Native samples in Task Force research projects. Although these recommendations were expressed thoughtfully, and with *hope*, there is always an expectation that some changes may not occur or may be difficult to accomplish.

Action research assists the change process by helping people anticipate the problems in bringing about desired changes. Such an inventory of "impediments for change" is not developed merely to understand the complexities of change, nor to document people's cynicism. Rather, it is practical problem-solving in order to anticipate future stumbling blocks, so that something can be done now, rather than later. This is but a first step, one we hope will be continued by later Task Force stages, with a broader representation of those who will be affected by change.

Turning now to the results of this inquiry, Native organization staff were asked to identify those problems in achieving their recommended improvements in service quality for Native clients. In summary, their replies are presented in ranked order according to the frequency of their responses:

- Lack of resources: financial, space or other facilities.
- Lack of Native support: Native leadership and Native involvement.
- Government resistance and ignorance.
- Staff weakness.
- Other: publicity; head office/field relations; poor organization, prejudice and insensitivity.

It is interesting that a lack of Native support ranks high in the list of possible barriers to change. Obviously, if enlisting this active involvement becomes a goal for the future, the identification of ways to make this happen is a problem to be solved. That this is a very real possibility was demonstrated by the *action* methodology of Task Force research. As a last section on future directions for change, we now turn to the *self-help solutions* generated by our many community meetings. Since this information is one of the main educational products of the Task Force's work, the material will be presented in detailed form, close to the people's words, in Appendix II.

Self-Help Solutions

In two of the Task Force research projects, data gathered from interviews and questionnaires was summarized into community reports and returned to the communities for discussion. The purposes of these discussions were to verify the data, to promote further analysis of the issues and problems, and to begin the discussion of solutions. The last activity was anticipated as a bridge to Era II. Out of these meetings came a number of "self-help" solutions, which are listed in Appendix II. Many of the ideas cut across the central functional areas that were the focal points for Task Force research. Others, like the recommendations to build greater unity between the Native organizations, were community development ideas that were directed to improving the quality of life in several ways.

The various self-help ideas displayed a broad range of differences according to the resources needed. The following scheme has been used in the Appendix to draw out these distinctions.

1. Activities calling for individual or informal group resources.

These activities (e.g. the formation of local women's groups), did not seem to require large organizational structures to get them going.

2. Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal.

Many of these, like holding community meetings to discuss housing, do not require excessive financial backing and could readily be organized out of people's homes. Some activities in this category use only Native resources; others use Native resources to establish liaisons with non-Native groups (e.g. "spread cultural awareness through the school system with local Native people doing displays"). Still other self-help actions involve activities organized by local Native residents to bring in outsiders to supply information. Suggested instances of this type of action in the employment field are stated here:

People might hold a meeting, invite officials to attend, and see if adult retraining could be started (recommendation from a small Northwestern town).

(This city) needs sessions on how to use Manpower counselling so we can get something out of it (large Southern city).

Other self-help ideas recommended that Native community members approach local Native organizations to suggest new activities or programs. Still others were directed to enlisting the co-operation and/or resources of a local non-Native organization, or of provincial or federal Native and non-Native organizations.

Finally, many suggestions involved specific recommendations for organized groups to organize special projects and activities. Some of these were directed at local Native organizations:

Native organizations should make an independent study of the housing situation and work together on a proposal to improve the situation.

Other suggestions, like the following, were messages to local non-Native institutions:

The secondary school should run a crash remedial and orientation program for Native kids coming from reserves to town. Six to eight weeks in July and August.

The various recommendations are reproduced in their entirety in Appendix II as a source of information for Native communities across Ontario. Many of these will seem like familiar ideas to some communities that have already given them consideration and have perhaps been successful in implementing them. Others, perhaps to people in more isolated communities, will be novel and perhaps useful. It is anticipated that Era II activities will use these as starting points for further self-help discussion.

It is difficult to develop a set of conclusions that somehow captures even the essence of the numerous Task Force research projects. So much of the detail and subtle nuances of pattern in each report has not even found its way into this final report. These details, of practical necessity, should be read by interested readers in their original sources. Also, it is anticipated that Era II activities will summarize many of these details, particularly as they highlight regional differences, specific communities and functional need/service areas. Because of these assumptions, this concluding section will only present some very broad observations. At this stage, the writer is taking the licence to step back from the data, and present some global impressions.

The Research Process

One of the interesting things about much of the Task Force research program, in retrospect, is that, as an urban institution (i.e. research), it tried to encompass many of the patterns desired by Native respondents to improve the quality of their lives. The principles of participatory research respect the right of people to participate in those key activities that affect their destiny. By encouraging Native input through Task Force administrative structures and through staff participation in virtually all research phases, we aspired to reduce the biases and insensitivities inherent in the non-Native dominated institutions of social science research. This involvement, beyond making the research less disruptive and we hope less insulting, opened up opportunities for a two-way learning process between selected members of the dominant white society and the Native community. Although it is difficult to discern exactly what happened in this process, one senses not two worlds clashing, but the emergence of something different. The research process, however, was not without its difficulties. These difficulties have not been documented in this report but are outlined in other Task Force reports for those interested in the state and future of participatory research.

Native Life in Urban Settings

It is too easy to count up statistics on such things as employment, income and educational background and assume that we know something about quality of life. Such inferences are fraught with many assumptions — assumptions not only about the methods behind such "factual-looking" symbols, but also assumptions concerning what the respondents actually think about the experiences buried in the statistics.

Our research talked directly to the people and

confirmed that the inadequate quality of life suggested by such indicators as unemployment, low job status, low levels of education and inadequate housing, was actually experienced by the respondents as inadequate. If quality of life can be defined in terms of access to what people regard as the good things in life (for them), then the Native respondents living in urban settings do not have that access. They have neither the jobs, the income, the skills nor the knowledge to pursue for themselves an acceptable life.

For Native respondents, there is ample evidence that however extensive alcohol abuse may be in the urban Native community (and this is by no means clear) it is *not* acceptable to them. Unlike the many explanations for "Indian drinking" in the research literature, our Native respondents primarily view alcohol abuse as symptomatic of their social, economic and cultural plights as Native people. They are anxious to remove the social and economic conditions underlying alcohol abuse, and at the same time remove the negative images associated with drinking as a publicly-perceived problem.

Along with the problems associated with inadequate employment, education, housing and alcohol abuse, *cultural awareness* has emerged as a central quality-of-life issue for both Native and non-Native people. At the very great risk of oversimplifying a delicate and most complex issue, cultural awareness emerged in three basic ways in Task Force research.

First of all, many Native people want to know more about their cultural background, both in history and traditions. They also want the non-Native society to become aware of such elements.

Secondly, to have one's culture(s) known by oneself and by others is presumed to lead to respect for oneself (pride) and respect by others. Both of these responses, self-pride and respect from others are scarce resources. They should therefore be considered as such, along with the other scarce resources in society. These responses of self-pride and respect are psychological resources which enable human beings to do the things they want to do. To be deprived of these becomes as much a deficiency in quality of life as work, income and housing.

A third way in which cultural factors are troublesome for Native respondents (and for service providers), is in the lack of cultural appropriateness of service institutions for Native clients. This

should also be seen as a quality-of-life issue, particularly if life quality is defined in terms of access to society's scarce resources. The help received from services and social programs, whether in the form of material aid (housing, money, etc.) or informational assistance (counselling, education), is a resource supplied for those who have fallen short in obtaining other scarce resources. When such help is provided in a way that people cannot use it, do not want it, or cannot get it because of their cultural differences, then those people are deprived of a quality of life. That this remains an issue for Native respondents is an overwhelming message in our research. The added psychological blow comes from knowing that the provincial government's philosophy is that service (and other) institutions are made for all people.

Implementing a Culturally Appropriate Service System

The ideal

Task Force research has shown that, by and large, a service system respectful of, and compatible with, the diverse cultural groups in Ontario is desired at both government and community levels. Although many Native respondents do not like the concept of multiculturalism applied to themselves, nevertheless it does capture a philosophical spirit of willingness to make resources suitable to all people, however different their backgrounds, beliefs, and life styles.

Despite this expressed *intention*, we must conclude that, in practice, the policy philosophy has not been (or has been unevenly) implemented. We based this conclusion on the considerable dissatisfaction that has been voiced by Native people, policy makers, agency directors and service staff alike. Such dissatisfaction is associated with inadequacies or difficulties at the local level along the following dimensions of implementation:

- knowledge and skills concerning: a) Native people needs, cultural backgrounds, and social situations, and b) how they can be served appropriately;
- resource support: the financial and human resources necessary to provide appropriate services in appropriate ways;
- organizational support: the appropriate organization (e.g. linkage with other community agencies, both Native and non-Native) for planning and evaluation.

Why do such difficulties exist? Why is there a gap between policy intention and program practice? To answer this question appropriately at this time is a very difficult task; it must surely be

answered more appropriately during Era II. However, certain beginnings can be made.

Vagueness in defining multiculturalism policy in relation to program practice

When policy makers and program development specialists were interviewed about the existence of policies and mandates for serving Native people, many positive answers were given. Their responses ranged from the position that programs existed for all people to specific statements about special needs programs and/or other special steps taken. Some mandates are written; some are informal and taken-for-granted. What was missing from most answers were clear statements on how the vague ideals associated with "making services appropriate for all" can specify, even within broad guidelines, what people should or could do at the local program level. In many cases, policies and mandates seemed to have the character of vague abstractions which, however well intentioned, could not provide guidelines for effective program implementation. What makes this even more problematical is that the various problems in program implementation, described by our sample policy-makers and program development people, impede the communications necessary to make these abstractions more specific.

The flow of information

The apparent inadequacies, in the circulation of information about urban Native people and available programs, function as both causes and symptoms of inadequate implementation of appropriate services and programs. Existing demographic studies of urban Native people circulate neither to Natives nor non-Native policy makers or program developers. Along with the poor communications between the service agencies and the Native communities at the local levels, this information gap makes needs identification quite difficult. The problems in community channels of communication also hamper service and program assessment efforts, as well as general problem-solving.

Native respondents have identified a lack of awareness about available programs and services as a problem, a perception that was reinforced by local agency personnel. This apparent lack of awareness is a *symptom* of inadequate service implementation. However difficult, programs and services that are ideally mandated to reach a diverse clientele should establish the necessary communication channels. It is to be hoped that Task Force information on these matters will aid in finding solutions. This is not an easy matter since it involves not only a re-examination of methods, but also *channels* (i.e. opening up better lines of communication between agencies).

Principles for Resource Change

The previous discussion has barely skimmed the surface of the issues and problems involved in implementing services and programs based on multiculturalism ideals. It is hoped that the central point is clear: dissatisfaction is apparent over the success of providing services, in a culturally appropriate way, to Native clients in urban settings. The importance of emphasizing this point was suggested by the considerable research material, in which it was said that problems in services and programs were strongly related to *how* such resources were delivered.

These points may be summed up by the following principles:

Principle I — That general and special needs programs and services be delivered to Native clients in a way that is compatible with their cultural backgrounds and social situations.

To accomplish this principle, attention needs to be given to the meaning of *implementation*, particularly the *implementation of a culturally-appropriate service policy* which considers the necessary service skills and knowledge, appropriate resources, appropriate organizational structural support and types of necessary information.

A special sub-principle of the above general principle is:

Principle II — That Native users, through such mechanisms as consultation, board membership, etc., have the opportunity to enhance the sensitivity and appropriateness of service and other urban institutions.

To give some balance to the above discussion, we now turn to another symptom of the implementation problem, namely that certain resources needed by Native people are not perceived to exist. In order to avoid a repetition of discussions in previous sections, this information is presented here as a set of *additional* principles:

Principle III — That resources be developed in a way that provides a balanced emphasis to the *prevention* of the problems facing Native people in urban settings.

Such a change will require promotion of key development like the provision of jobs, educational opportunities, housing, information about urban social systems and strengthening the Native family.

- Principle IV That resources be provided in a fashion to assure the enhancement of basic urban *life skills* of certain Native people.
- Principle V That resources be furnished to provide opportunities for Native cultural awareness by both Native people and non-Native society.

These principles have evolved from the findings of the Task Force research program. As principles, they are highly generalized and, to many people, may not say anything new. At first glance, some may seem to have little relevance to certain service areas. However, with close inspection of specific programs and community services by Native and non-Native community and government representatives, such an immediate impression should give way to concrete problem-solving, policy making and program development. This, and other activities, should be the promise of Era II.

Appendix I: Research Methods

Overview

As stated in Section 1, the Task Force is primarily a planning committee which required research to help realize its goals. The original research proposal developed the following objectives:

- 1. To gather and analyze data and available research information on the patterns and problems associated with the migration of Native people to Ontario urban environments, and experienced by Native people residing in urban environments.
- 2. To collect and interpret information for the assessment of resources available to urban Native people.
- 3. To identify their resource needs.
- 4. To begin the development of an inventory of options for policy and program development.
- 5. To use the research process as a vehicle for setting a favorable climate for possible later implementation of new resource deployment and development. The research activities should set the stage for successful later change efforts.
- To contribute, through a participatory research process, to the provision of opportunities and skills for Native people's community development in the urban environment.

To realize these goals, five research projects were undertaken: 1. A Literature Review, 2. A Native Agency Staff Study, 3. A Study of Native People in the Community, 4. Resource Assessment, 5. Demography. The aims and methods of each project are summarized in Figure 10, along with the titles of the project reports.

In several of the research projects, these research goals were pursued using a type of action research known as *participatory research*. We also strove to draw conclusions based on several different sources of information — a research method known as *triangulation*. Each of these research features will now be discussed.

Participatory research involves the full and active participation of the community or group in the entire research process; and

the process can create a greater awareness in people of their own resources and mobilize them for self-reliant development.

(Urban Natives and their Communities, Volume II).

Not all Task Force research projects followed participatory research principles to the letter. Even the one most closely approximating the pure approach, Urban Natives and Their Communities, was forced, through limited funds, to drop desirable final participatory research stages.\(^1\)
As in most action research projects, Task Force research projects were designed to enable benefits to emerge from the research process.

These benefits included training for Native people (see Urban Native Resource Needs and Services Assessment: A Key Informant Study, Appendix I), the development of training manuals for community meetings and participatory research (see above study, Appendix 2; and Urban Natives and their Communities: A Statistical Description of Migration, Problems and Services Experiences, Volume II), the distribution of bibliographies, the development of a service information manual, community development meetings, and a research information resource centre.

Triangulation: the search for multiple sources of information

Another principle followed in Task Force research studies involves drawing together diverse pieces of information into a common conclusion. In some cases, support is drawn from previous studies completed prior to Task Force activities. In other cases, data from separate Task Force projects, drawn from separate samples, is generalized into a finding. In still other cases, data from within the same project and data base coverage, demonstrates a pattern that produces confirmation. By establishing the results of this report in separate though complementary data sources, it is hoped that the conclusions are strengthened. It is recognized that information from different sources may not necessarily agree.

The final stage in the project's design would have assembled all field workers
for a general discussion of province-wide research findings. This phase
would have fulfilled the educational functions of the project. It would have
also been an important bridge to Era II.

Figure 10

The Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting: Research Projects

Project	Objectives	Methods	Report title		
Literature review	To review previous published and unpublished research studies on ur- ban Natives in order to summarize existing knowledge.	Library research	Native People in Urban Settings: A Literature Review.		
Native agency staff survey	To study the perceptions and experiences of knowledgeable persons working in the Native community in terms of four broad research questions: a) What are the needs of urban Native people? b) What are the strengths and weaknesses of existing services? c) What changes might improve services to Native people? d) What gaps exist in the provision of services?	 Self-administered questionnaire to persons working in Native organizations. Community data feed-back meetings. Research conference with government and Native program and policy-making staff, academics, and private agency staff. 	Urban Native Resource Needs and Service As- sessment: A Key Informant Study Volumes I and II.		
A study of Native people in the community	1. To identify the specific short and long-term needs of Ontario's urban Native people from the point of view of: a) the users of the relevant social services, b) non-users of these services in terms of housing, employment, health, education and other	1. Participatory research methods with emphasis on collaboration between consultants and Natives on research design, data-gathering, analysis, and report writing.	Urban Natives and Their Com- munities: Com- munity Reports Volume 1.		
	emerging areas. 2. To identify possible ways of meeting these needs, with emphasis on solutions generated by urban Native people. 3. To compare these needs and solutions with those identified by key informants and government programs and to recommend ways of resolving discrepancies.	2. Interviews with 489 Native people across the province.3. Community meetings, high-lighted by data discussions and recommendations for solutions.	Urban Natives and Their Com- munities: A Study of Mi- gration, Problems and Service Expe- riences, Volume 11.		

Figure 10

The Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting: Research Projects (Cont'd)

Project	Objectives	Methods	Report title
Demography studies	of Native people living in urban centres in Ontario. 2. To describe the demographic	 Review and evaluation of demographic studies with attention to content, methods and impact. Key user study; interviews with persons using urban Native demographic statistics. Attention to: types of data used purpose in using demographic data problems in using data specific data sources used gaps in existing data that would help user 	Demographic Studies of Native people in Urban Settings. A Survey of the Use of Native Demographic Data by a Se- lected group of Key Users in On- tario.
Resource assess- ment studies	1. To describe government programs specifically designed for urban Native people.	1. Interviewing; document analysis.	Policy Making and Program De- velopment for
	2. To describe the programs and services offered by Native organiza-	2. Key Informant Study; document analysis.	Urban Native People in On-

- tions.
- 3. To assess resource delivery to urban Native people in terms of:
- availability
- appropriateness
- sufficiency
- accessibility
- 4. To examine government policies and programs with attention to:
- mandate to serve Native people
- policy and policy development
- programs: goals, methods, needs
- evaluation

An Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People.

- 3. Mailed self-administered questionnaires to agency heads and service providers in human service organizations across Ontario.
- 4. Interviews with government policy and program officials.

Appendix II: Native Ideas on Self-Help Changes

While many Native respondents have a sense of hopelessness because they have been needy for so long, or their hopes have been dashed so often, there still exists a strong and deep feeling among many that getting together and getting the right information will lead them closer to solutions. The self-help suggestions running throughout the interviews and meetings cover all the areas of concern from housing to discrimination. Suggestions include such simple acts as getting together to talk, and complex tasks such as a Heritage Day holiday. Many ideas present themselves as new ideas in some localities and well established programs in other places.

The following self-help suggestions are presented from the perspective of the people with the needs. Some live in towns and cities with Native friendship centres, and some do not. While this affects the nature of some suggestions, the intent of the speaker is communicated as closely as possible.

The 154 activities or projects listed below are first divided into major categories of need. Within each need category, there are further subdivisions. The first set of activities are those that can be done with little or no group organization or gathering of resources. The second is mostly based on the time and energy of those who will benefit, but in some cases, other people and resources are necessary. The third set of projects within each need category are suggested activities for organized groups.

Cultural awareness

Activities calling for individual or informal group resources:

- 1. Set up a drum group.
- 2. Form local women's group to share cultures and solve problems.
- 3. Get involved in the Windsor Multicultural Centre.
- 4. Get Native elders involved in teaching group.

Activities requiring only Native resources:

- 5. Write and perform a theatrical play focusing on Native life style.
- 6. Set up cross-cultural programs with several tribes.
- 7. Have more Native gatherings (from a city without a friendship centre).
- 8. Have traditional Native activities (e.g. powwows).
- 9. Have cultural gatherings in the wilderness.
- Get a newsletter going to let people know of Native events (a very strong sentiment in Windsor).
- 11. (Reactivate MNSIA local or) start other Native culture and rights organization.
- 12. Get Native elders involved in teaching young.
- 13. Get elders to teach classes in Native culture.
- Get elders actively sharing talents in the community.

- 15. Develop courses in Native language instruction.
- 16. Teach treaty history, trapping, fishing, wild rice production.
- 17. Younger people should learn their language and learn about traditional ways of life.
- 18. Set up a network for obtaining traditional Native food and supplies.
- 19. Set up a Native food co-op (supply food at discount prices) and also supply a place to buy traditional Indian food and supplies.
- 20. Give a workshop for cultural awareness open to the public.
- 21. Set up public Native awareness programs. Show films on Native culture, issues, etc., and invite guest speakers, e.g. Xavier Michon, Richard Lyons.
- 22. Set up a powwow for the summer and invite the whole community and tourists.

Activities using only Native resources to set up a liaison with non-Native groups and institutions:

23. Spread cultural awareness through the school system with local Native people doing displays.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal Native organization:

- 24. Have heritage programs; for example, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College's program.
- 25. Arrange for films to be made by Natives.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal non-Native organization:

- 26. Windsor should have a friendship centre for cultural purposes and for social services.
- 27. A special Native Awareness Day throughout the whole educational system to promote cultural awareness about Native history, culture, etc.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

Local Native organizations:

The Native centre should do the following:

- 28. Offer courses on old ways and on other Native nations.
- Have evening and weekend programs in Native culture.
- 30. Arrange for young people to visit elders.
- 31. Have a homemaker's course to teach traditional cooking.
- 32. Have more dances.
- 33. Have community programs for non-Natives.

Education

Activities calling for individual or informal group resources:

34. Do a Native Studies project in high school if a course is not available.

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal

35. Native people need to come together as a community to articulate what they really want for the education of their children and to consider more long-term educational goals for Native people (north central city).

The Native community should look at common (educational) needs and look for solutions; the government has a way of throwing up obstacles to divide the people and then nothing gets done (northwestern city).

- 36. Form Native clubs in schools.
- 37. Establish a study hall centre for Native students.
- 38. A Native students' council at college could encourage people not to drop out as they would have a place to get together to do things.
- 39. Use parents as resources in schools; Native oral teaching hasn't been emphasized enough.

Activities using only Native resources to set up a liaison with non-Native groups:

- 40. Form local Native educational councils to liaise with school board.
- 41. Have Native input to schools.
- 42. Get involved in school book writing.
- 43. The issue of racism should be confronted. "The teachers and students should be reminded each school term of equality."
- 44. Hold seminars on traditional Native teachings for teachers.
- 45. Invite non-Native teachers to the reserves to see what reserve life is like so that they can understand their Native students.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and resources of a local Native organization:

- 46. Organize a list of students who are interested in helping other students and post it at the friendship centre.
- 47. In large cities, have a central source of information (or catalogue system) about courses and Native people who have gone through them.
- 48. Have a place where people can get information ahead of time.
- 49. Have a resource catalogue for funding people going to schools, particularly for short courses.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a local non-Native organization:

50. Have a Native way school in Hamilton.

- 51. Have a Native parent counsellor for parents of elementary-age students.
- 52. School counselling should be built on Native values, using Native counsellors and, perhaps, traditionally-oriented elders to give encouragement and illustrations of Indian values and use of Native language.
- 53. A board made up of members of the Native community should be established to liaise with the board of education and the Canada Employment Centre, to discuss a curriculum oriented towards jobs, through monthly or bimonthly meetings.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal Native organization:

54. There is a basic human right to educate Native children by Native people. Native people need to approach the Ontario government as a lobbying force (as English and French parents have) for Native studies and Native schools.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal non-Native organization:

55. Make a systematic attack on discrimination and a positive assertion of Native identity needs at the primary school level.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities

- 56. Native organizations should demand longer representation on the board of education; one person in a token position has no effect.
- 57. Wawatay is working with the English department in the secondary school to develop a special journalism course for Native students; it is part of their English course. Students then act as reporters from the reserve during the summer, sending material to Wawatay newspaper.

Suggestions to local non-Native organizations:

- 58. Teach Ojibway in schools.
- 59. Secondary school should run a crash remedial and orientation program for Native kids coming from reserves to town (e.g. 6-8 weeks in July and August).

Suggestions to Native organizations with provincial or federal networks:

- Demand from Ministry of Education that Ojibway and other languages be taught in secondary schools.
- 62. Press for Native control of a secondary school in northwestern Ontario, like Prairie Indian Survival School in Alberta.

Discrimination

Activities calling for individual or informal group resources:

63. When one woman's son was being harassed at school, she went to his class and talked about what and who Natives are; the problem went away after that.

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using only Native resources —

64. Have social functions and street patrols as ways of fighting prejudice and discrimination.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

To local Native organizations —

65. "Windsor Committee in Support of Native Concerns" should work hand-in-hand with non-Natives to develop sensitivity toward Native people.

Recreation

Activities calling for individual or informal group resources:

66. Participants in a recreation program could aid the staff and thereby contribute to the program.

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

- 67. Encourage Native competition in sports as a way of getting fit and feeling pride.
- 68. As a group, the Native community should investigate and use existing recreational facilities to get better programs.
- 69. We need Native representation on town recreation committee.
- 70. People should raise money so that youth in low-income families can participate in sports.
- 71. Hold community meetings to organize:
 - singalongs, music, song and dance evenings;
 - box social dances;
 - drawings, painting evenings;
 - sewing;
 - music lessons (guitar);
 - bingo.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

72. Native centres need gyms.

Women's needs

Activities calling for individual or informal group resources:

- 73. Single mothers could get together and talk about their problems and make themselves feel better.
- 74. Working mothers with children in school could pay other women to give lunch and look after them after school.

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities requiring only Native resources —

- 75. Have a hotline for women who need to talk to someone sympathetic about problem.
- 76. Have single parents and children go on outings and have discussions.
- 77. Form a single-mother association.
- 78. A self-help program in one town includes a mix of handicraft production, family life skills and counselling.
- 79. Have group meetings of women who gather weekly to "hear other problems", "compare solutions", and give a chance for women "simply to have someone to talk to". "This is a grass-roots organization not dependent on outside funding, and responsible only to the needs of Native women."

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal Native organization:

80. Native women wish to be self-sufficient and self-reliant — sponsorship of Native information and counselling service; joint involvement on such a project from committees made up of local and provincial organizations.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

To local Native organizations —

- 81. Native women's centres should offer the following courses to young mothers:
 - a) budgeting with individualized financial counselling; the courses should give advice on and monitor household financial management and personal savings;
 - a sewing program with courses and a sewing room with machines for women who don't have their own.

Employment

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using only Native resources —

- 82. Native people must decide what they need in the way of adult education and retraining.
- 83. Native people should get together and organize own jobs and industries.
- 84. Native community has to organize and assume responsibility for developing alternatives to welfare.

- 85. Organize Native crafts production and co-operative sales (possible outgrowth from craft nights initially) as a recreational activity.
- 86. People in the area should get together to form their own contracting company to repair their own houses.

Activities organized by local Natives bringing in others to supply information

- 87. People might hold a meeting, invite officials to attend, and see if adult retraining could be started (small northwestern town).
- 88. Need session on how to use Manpower counselling so something can be got out of it (large southern city).

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a local non-Native organization:

- 89. Form a new group to push for better housing and employment conditions for Native people on farms (fruit pickers).
- 90. Organize Native-controlled industry:
 - a) charcoal pellet (briquet) production,
 - b) railway tie production,
 - c) Native-run motel,
 - d) homesteading,
 - e) trout farming,
 - f) Native food such as rabbits.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal non-Native organization:

91. Native people must design and implement their own retraining programs (large city).

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

To local Native organizations —

92. Native association employment counsellors shall open up access to the larger services available.

Housing

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using only Native resources —

93. Hold a large public meeting in the fall to discuss housing and develop more detailed plans for a housing corporation.

Activities organized by local Natives bringing in others to supply information

- 94. Write a letter to OHC and ask them how they use their waiting list as it always seems so unfair.
- 95. Hold housing seminars using those Native people and Native organizations most skilled in the housing area.
- 96. Write to CMHC and ask about unoccupied units in nearby town.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal Native organization

97. Organize new OMNSIA local programs.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a provincial or federal non-Native organization

- 98. Organize co-operative housing including itinerant housing.
- 99. Have a Native housing corporation, run by Native housing committee and employing Native contractors and builders.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities

To local Native organizations —

- 100. Develop the position of Native Placement Officers to handle housing and related problems.
- 101. Native organizations should make an independent study of the housing situation and work together on a proposal to improve the situations.
- 102. OMNSIA should develop a house-rental program.
- 103. Mobilize Native organizations to bring pressure to bear on the Ministry of Natural Resources for release of land for house building.

To Native organizations with provincial or federal networks —

104. Get more attention from OMNSIA, especially concerning housing.

Suggestions to non-Native organizations with provincial or federal networks:

- 105. Lobby province to end municipal residence requirements now that province is picking up 7-1/2 per cent of municipality's housing financing.
- 106. Contact MPP and fill him in on the OHC problem and then get the ball moving for having more units built.

Alcohol abuse

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

- Organize Native Alcoholics Anonymous based on Native spirituality and Native foods.
- 108. Have an AA on every reserve.

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and/or resources of a local non-Native organization:

109. Set up a detox centre and sweat lodge; many empty buildings in towns could be used.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

To local Native organizations —

110. Have street counselling for alcohol abusers including informing people about available services.

To Native organizations with provincial or federal networks:

111. Canadian Native Indian Committee on Alcoholism should have workshop on alcohol and drug abuse.

Health and nutrition

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using only Native resources —

- 112. Get health and nutrition information on "moccasin telegraph".
- 113. Have Native self-help groups and services in health and nutrition.

Activities organized by local Natives bringing in others to supply information:

- 114. Organize workshops on nutrition and good food buys.
- 115. Put together a program on herbal medicine.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

To local Native organizations —

- 116. Friendship centre should organize nutrition and diet supplementation clinics.
- 117. Friendship centre could provide sponsorship for the following information programs if they were provided with trained staff:
 - personal health-care practices the need to know, and what to do, about being mentally, physically and spiritually fit;
 - good eating habits to prevent disease and toothache;
 - birth control prevents depression and unplanned parenthood.
- 118. Band councils should get funding for training programs for Native assistant teams in hospitals.
- 119. There should be collaboration among three local Native organizations to form a committee which will undertake meetings with doctors and hospital staff to discuss the various problems and propose solutions.

Suggestions to Native organizations with provincial or federal networks:

120. OMNSIA should work with Ministry of Health and Welfare to train nurses to deal with Native people.

Children and family needs

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using only Native resources —

- 121. Have family-life education.
- 122. Have home "block parents" for children.
- 123. Li'l Beavers program should be offered for girls as well as boys.
- 124. Big Brothers and Big Sisters organization for Native children.
- 125. Publicize the need for Native foster homes.

Activities using Native resources to set up a liaison with non-Native groups:

126. Provide Native input to Children's Aid Society.

Youth

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using only Native resources —

- 127. Organize a hotline for youth.
- 128. Have Native families come together to discuss and deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency.
- 129. Organize alcohol-education programs for young people, including peer group counselling.
- 130. All teen dances should be closely supervised and *drv*.

Activities organized by local Natives to bring in others to supply information:

- 131. Organize family-planning clinics to advise young girls on birth control.
- 132. Organize workshops for young people in budgeting and first aid.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

To local Native organizations

133. Native Centre should have a program for youth similar to the programs it has for children (Li'l Beavers) and elders.

To Native organizations with provincial or federal networks —

134. ONWA should have a youth program for teens.

In fact, the Li'l Beavers program is open to both sexes. In some communities, however, the staff composition and skills seem to generate more activities for boys than for girls.

Justice

Activities requiring the organization of a community group to achieve a specific goal:

Activities using Native resources to set up a liaison with non-Native groups —

135. Judges, lawyers, court personnel should be invited to talk with Natives outside the courtroom to get a better understanding of the Native way of life.

Activities organized by local Natives bringing in others to supply information —

136. Have a program designed to present information workshops on the law in remote northern communities in layman's terms (also suggested in larger southern city).

Activities organized by local Natives seeking the cooperation and resources of a local Native organization:

137. Have a volunteer network of Native ex-inmates working through a Native organization to help counsel people encountering the justice system.

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

Suggestions to local Native organizations —

138. Band offices and friendship centres should approach legal aid to carry out public education about its services through them.

Suggestions to Native organizations with provincial or federal networks —

- 139. At the Ontario Native Court and Counselling Services, add the staff positions of three regional supervisors/co-ordinators providing professional legal guidance and direction, and one staff person dealing solely with administration.
- 140. Ontario Native Council on Justice should be controlled by Natives.

Suggestions to non-Native organizations with provincial or federal networks —

- 141. Native groups should approach MPs and demand that justice system quit discrimination.
- 142. Push for a Native inmate liaison worker to facilitate inmate self-help and arrange employment and parole advocacy.

Senior citizens

Suggestions to organized groups that they organize projects and activities:

- 143. Native centre should have a program for senior citizens; it should include many social and recreational activities such as bowling, cards, crafts and homemakers' service for the sick.
- 144. Pursue the government and city for a Native volunteer homemakers' service for the sick and elderly.

- 145. Hold elders' luncheons at Indian Centre.
- 146. Senior citizens should start a club for teaching young.

Other ideas

- 147. Adjustment to the city; pre-migration orientation.
- 148. Native volunteer systems.
- 149. Volunteer counselling.
- 150. Put people in touch with information systems: a provincial Native hotline.
- 151. The community should meet with agency people and politicians to discuss problems and solutions.
- 152. Local Native organizations should become more unified. (This suggestion came from all parts of the province.)
- 153. Native Centre should offer money management courses.
- 154. Pressure government to offer benefits to all Native people, not just status.

Appendix III: Summaries of Projects

Introduction

In this appendix, brief summaries of the seven major Task Force research projects are presented:

- A. Urban Native Resource Needs and Services Assessment: A Key Informant Study (Frank Maidman)
- B. Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People (Ed Herberg)
- C. Urban Natives and their Communities: A Study of Migration, Problems and Service Experiences (Participatory Research Group, Linda Fischer)
- D. Policy Making and Program Development for Urban Native People in Ontario (Ursula Jolin)
- E. Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings (Chris Taylor, Ken Svenson, Karen Kuzmochka, Rob Howarth)
- F. A Survey of the Users of Demographic Data by a Selected Group of Key Users in Ontario (Canadian Indian Management Services)
- G. Native People in Urban Settings: A Literature Review (James Bledsoe, Frank Maidman, James Maloney)
- (A) Urban Native Resource Needs and Services
 Assessment: A Key Informant Study: Summary

Research objectives

Addresses the following research questions:

- What are the needs of Native people living in urban areas?
- How well are current government and community resources meeting these needs?
- What recommendations for resource improvements can be made?
- What gaps exist in the provision of service?

Research methods

A key informant study which gathers data from:
a) the board and staff members of urban Native community, service and political organizations, and b) policy, program, academic and agency specialists in Native services and studies.

1. Data gathering

Three procedures for gathering data were used.

- Self-administered questionnaires: structured and open-ended questions organized into three sections organizational and community fact sheet, general needs and services, and specialized questionnaires geared to each of 13 functional need/service areas: cultural awareness, health and nutrition, housing, children and families, justice, senior citizens, youth, women, social welfare, recreation, drug and alcohol use, employment, and education.
- Data feedback community meetings: selected questionnaire results were discussed in 25 community meetings involving staff of local Native organizations.

 Research conference: selected questionnaire results were discussed by specialists in the Native field.

The purpose of the community meetings and research conference were:

- to verify selected findings on unmet needs,
- to expand the information and thereby achieve a deeper awareness of needs,
- to develop ideas for change.

2. Sample

Questionnaire packages were sent to all identifiable Native organizations in 22 core cities and towns of high, non-reserve Native concentration, and in an additional 129 nearby small communities. A total of 646 questionnaires (95 fact sheets, 304 general services and 247 functional area questionnaires) were returned from a total of 118 Native organizations.

The community data feedback meetings were held in 25 different cities and towns across Ontario but drew participants from a total of 240 people from 60 different Native organizations. The all-day research conference was attended by people from a variety of specializations.

3. Native staff participation

Native people were heavily involved in research design and implementation. Training sessions for over 50 field supervisors, field workers and members of Native organizations were held on a range of research and community development topics.

Results

- 1. What are the needs of urban Native people?
 - The major problems in urban centres relate to unemployment, limited education, a lack of housing, cultural awareness and identity problems, and the abuse of alcohol.
 - The most frequently mentioned unmet needs related to employment opportunities, adult retraining and upgrading, assurance of good schooling for Native youth, reasonable housing and housing opportunities, and the enhancement of cultural opportunities for Natives and non-Natives.
 - In addition, problems and resource needs were identified in the judicial system, recreation, social welfare system, and health and nutrition; the special needs of Native youth, children, families, and women were also identified.
 - A sense of prejudice and discrimination was identified in employment-seeking, housing, the judicial process and, to some extent, the welfare system.

- 2. What gaps exist in the provision of services?
 - The majority of respondents identifying particularly important resource needs believe that programs did not exist.
 - In particular, a lack of resources was perceived in the following areas: enhancement of cultural awareness for Natives and non-Natives, prevention, crisis intervention and counselling, job opportunities, day care, Native staff, housing, education and special information, social and recreational opportunities, resources for Native seniors.
- 3. What is the impact of existing programs and services?
 - Native organizational staff are, at best, only moderately satisfied with the way existing services are meeting urban Native service users' needs.
 - There is evidence that programs in certain functional areas are more successful: women's programs, health care and nutrition, drug and alcohol use, senior citizens, justice, cultural awareness, and recreation.
 - Programs provided by Native friendship centres were judged most effective in providing services to Native people, and were judged as showing the most improvement in recent years.
 - Programs judged to need the most improvement, in order to help Native clients better, were in: employment, housing, and social welfare. Friendship centre programs in some locations were also identified.
- 4. What factors are cited to explain the differences in effectiveness?
 - a) In general
 - staff qualities: lack of sensitivity to Native client needs, problems, cultural background and social situations;
 - access: physical location, promptness of service, eligibility criteria;
 - organizational strengths: adequate financing and fund-raising capabilities; physical facilities; management, leadership and planning; stable, active and co-operative boards; adequate staff members; linkage with other community agencies; adequate program communication to communities;
 - appropriateness: program relevance to Native problems and needs, compatibility with Native social situations and cultural background.

- b) Native organizations experience the following problems in servicing their people:
- financial: level,
- the general com- weak membership munity: conflict, apathy
- staff: inadequate

 - internal manage-
- Native community: lacks unity
- nature of programs
- inappropriate
- with other com-
- government: slow bureaucracy, restrictions.
- 5. What are some suggested solutions?
 - The addition of services, programs and resource opportunities, particularly in the areas of housing, employment, education and drug and alcohol abuse.
 - Changes or reinforcement of certain service orientations or philosophies that give emphasis to: a) enhancing sensitivity, awareness and responsiveness to Native culture, life style and social situation; b) prevention; c) interdependence of needs and problems, and holistic approaches to intervention; d) rehabilitation in such areas as justice, social welfare, and drug and alcohol abuse.
 - Particularly important problem prevention efforts would include: a) increasing employment rates; b) decreasing school drop-out; c) increasing opportunities for good, suitable housing; d) enhancing opportunities for Native cultural awareness for Natives and non-Natives; e) increasing opportunities for basic life-skills learning opportunities.
 - Removal of negative stigma associated with being Native through: a) mass media emphasis on positive images, b) Native involvement in image production, c) government support of programs oriented to non-problem areas of
 - Strengthening the Native community through: a) the mobilization of Native organizations to influence government, b) enhancing Native leadership responsiveness to the "grass roots", c) unification and co-ordination of Native organizations, d) development of Native volunteer system, e) development of alternatives to welfare,
 - f) assuring participation and influence in key
 - Enhancement of knowledge and skills of: a) Natives - jobs, upgrading, life skills, leadership, urban orientation; b) non-Natives knowledge of Native culture, service skills.

- Increase in the amount and flow of information about programs.
- Development and/or strengthening of community service structures via: a) service variety in some agencies, b) feedback opportunities from Native communities, c) educational councils, d) Native foster care programs, e) Native liaison officers to integrate service use, f) co-operative inter-agency committees focusing on Native services.
- Greater involvement of Native agencies in the provision of certain programs.
- Enhancement of Native self-sufficiency and selfhelp.
- (B) Assessment of Human Services for Ontario's Urban Native People: Summary Research objective

The general objective of this project was to assess urban human service agency resources to Native people in terms of:

- availability: resources currently provided to Native people in each service agency;
- accessibility: 1. eligibility of Native people for the provision of existing services 2. special qualifications 3. problems of geographical distance;
- sufficiency: the adequacy of the agency "supply" of services, staff and funding in meeting Native service demands;
- cultural appropriateness: the kinds of structures and mechanisms available in the agency to complement, make use of, or otherwise take into account Native culture.

Research methods

1. Data gathering

Two separate questionnaires, comprising structured and open-ended questions, were sent to the heads and service staff of human service agencies.

2. Sample

Questionnaires were sent to all 1,762 human service agencies in 32 cities and towns of high, off-reserve, Native concentration across Ontario. Returns were received from 200 agency directors and 192 service providers, or 18 per cent of those agencies providing client services. An analysis of returns indicates a proportionally representative regional distribution of agencies, and representation from the following service categories: drug and alcohol services, youth, health care, housing, senior citizens, social welfare, women's programs, justice, and Native cultural facilities.

Selected results

- 1. A sizable proportion of Native service users (90 per cent) are routinely mobile or travel long distances for service.
- 2. Relatively few agencies have a Native program in place; those that do are in larger urban centres.
- 3. Having a specialized Native program positively affects other agency factors relating to availability, accessibility, sufficiency and cultural appropriateness of services to Native users.
- 4. The number of Native staff is insufficient.
- 5. There is an increasing gap in the supply of human services to Native service users (e.g. large "referral gaps" for Natives).
- 6. Agency effectiveness for Native clients compared to the general clientele was judged lower on several criteria, including: service availability, service variety, cultural appropriateness, numbers and training of agency staff, and special needs funding.
- 7. Multiple kinds of agency needs to address the deficiencies in Native service were indicated:
 a) Native staff, b) innovation and adaptation in Native services, c) external help in planning and implementing such changes, d) shifts in government philosophy and policy, e) improvements in inter-agency network co-ordination, f) financial increase.
- 8. Although the data does not allow firm conclusions, it appears that Native special needs programs are particularly necessary in southern and northeastern Ontario, in local government and private mainline agencies, and particularly in the drug-alcohol, health care, youth, housing, recreation, and senior citizen service sectors.
- 9. Agency heads give higher priority to increased funding from *existing* sources than funding from *new* sources; additional funding would be particularly appropriate for: a) enhancing the staff capabilities to serve Native clients, and b) developing special needs programs.

- 10. Strategies to improve and increase the service availability, accessibility, volume and cultural appropriateness of services to Native people include:
 - a) adding specialized Native services to agencies:
 - b) encouraging greater participation in the planning process by agency clients in smaller communities, Native people in the larger cities and agencies without any Native program, and government Native consultants in agencies currently without Native programs;

 c) increasing inter-agency co-ordination in order to produce a truly effective Native service network in each community;

- d) encouraging the directors and staff of Native-run agencies, and others knowledgeable in Native culture and service methods, to advise and teach the people in non-Native agencies;
- e) increased financing.
- (C) Urban Natives and Their Communities: A Study of Migration, Problems and Service Experiences: Summary

Research goals

- To identify the specific short and long-term needs of Ontario's urban Native people from the viewpoint of: a) the users of social services, and b) the non-users of these services in terms of housing, employment, health, education, and other emerging areas.
- To identify possible ways of meeting these needs, with emphasis on solutions generated by urban Native people.

Research methods

Generally, the research methods used in this study can be described as a "modified participatory research" approach, following these principles:

 The problem is experienced in the community or workplace itself and is defined, analysed and action-planned by those affected.

The ultimate goal of the research is the transformation of social reality and the improvement
of the lives of the people involved; the beneficiaries of the research are the members of the
community or group.

• Participatory research involves the full and active participation of the community or group in the

entire research process.

• The process can create a greater awareness in people of their own resources and mobilize them for self-reliant development.

The essential elements of the research were:

- establishment of a core research group composed of Native staff, participatory research consultants and the Task Force research director, to carry out the research design, training, research implementation, collective analysis and community report writing (Volume 1);
- training courses in which approximately 40 Native field worker/interviewers were trained in interview methods, quota sampling, note taking, community meetings and report writing;
- interviews; the interview instrument was designed in a way that promoted Native participation;
- quota sampling; this was done in a way that the sample would reflect the key demographic aspects of urban Natives in the province; a final sample of 532 people was interviewed in 32 cities and towns of high Native concentration; for the statistical analysis, the sample was reduced to 489 to assure a more representative sample;
- community meetings and community profiles; the compilation, by fieldworkers, of all data from interviews in his/her own community; meetings were attended by interviewers to verify profiles, obtain more detailed suggestions to priority problems, and to obtain more information.

Results

The final report of this project is contained in two volumes. Volume I contains each community profile as described above. Volume II contains a description of methodology, statistical analysis and training manuals. The following are selected highlights:

1. Migration

- Better educated respondents with higher incomes are the most residentially mobile.
- Over one-half of the sample moved alone rather than with a partner, children or parents.
- Work and education are the most frequently mentioned reasons for moving.

2. Problems

 Unemployment, housing, limited education, alcohol use and discrimination are the most frequently mentioned problems faced by Native respondents in urban settings; problems were different in different regions. • In addition to changes in the above core problems, Native respondents also believed that enhanced recreational opportunities would improve their *quality of life*.

3. Enjoyments and achievements

 Participation in unorganized social activities, raising children, and intellectual and educational pursuits were the most frequently mentioned enjoyment or achievements while living in urban settings.

4. Housing

- Low-income Native respondents are likely to rent unsatisfactory housing for which they believe they are paying too much.
- On the average, Native respondents live in households with three or four people; onequarter report living with five or more people.
- Housing features most in need of improvement are plumbing, space and insulation.
- Considerably fewer than one-half know about housing programs for Natives; over twothirds felt that they could be better administered.

5. Health and nutrition resources

- Studies of the health status of Native people show higher incidences of illness, disease and injuries in comparison to non-Natives.
- This study showed that health care sources are frequently used and that satisfaction is high.
- About one-half were unaware of supplementary financial assistance for health care.
- Certain categories of Native respondents (e.g. the highly mobile) are less active users of health services.
- Native respondents living in smaller towns were more likely to report a lack of health care services in town.
- While Native people are well aware of what foods are nutritious, the barriers of cost and availability prevent many from eating what they should.
- Almost all Native respondents know where to get information on medical matters; slightly fewer know where to get information on special diets and nutrition; about half know where to get information on good food buys and budgeting.

- 6. Involvement with and use of Native and non-Native organizations and agencies
 - Of the 45 per cent of the sample involved in Native organizations, over half is involved in a friendship centre; over one-third is involved in a branch of the Ontario Arietis and Non-Status Indian Association; and about one-fifth is involved in the Ontario Native Women's Association
 - Use of all in-town organizations and service agencies was highest for education, employment, health and nutrition, social welfare and cultural awareness services.
 - Types of agencies mentioned in the context of solving problems were: employment and social welfare agencies and Native organizations.
 - Use of employment services is not related to having a job or to income, although there is evidence that those with qualifications for "better" jobs are most likely to be helped.
 - Social welfare services are used most (about 50 per cent) by those who are not currently employed or who have temporary, part-time or low-status jobs, who live in the south, and those who have been in town a short period of time.
 - Involvement in cultural awareness activities is highest for younger, more highly educated and single or divorced Native respondents.
 - Of the six agencies or types of agencies that were rated as high, medium or low on usefulness, sensitivity of staff to Native clients and perceived quality of the staff, Native friendship centres received the highest ratings and CEIC (Manpower) received the lowest rating. DIAND was rated just below friendship centres.
- (D) Policy Making and Program Development for Urban Native People in Ontario: Summary Research objectives
 - To study government policy making in relation to urban Native people: mandates, nature of policies, policy planning.
 - To study government program development for Native people: types, goals and assumptions, implementation, evaluation.

Research methods

- In-depth interviews with 56 policy makers, policy advisors, program administrators and other officials in provincial and federal ministries and departments. These persons were specialists in Native affairs.
- Analysis of program and policy documents.

Results

1. Mandates

- Over one-half of those interviewed indicated that no mandates existed in their departments for Native people.
- Those claiming mandates were representatives of departments in culture, justice and employment.

2. Policies

- A majority reported that stated or unstated policies existed in their departments with regard to Native people; these were mainly policies of non-differentiation, affirmative action, Native participation through consultation and staffing action.
- Policies on Native people were established as a way of effecting desirable changes, in response to political pressures, as a means of correcting existing imbalances in services and programs, and in recognition of past injustices.

3. Planning

- The majority said that Native people have input into policy making and planning, primarily through Native organizations, government organizations, government-sponsored committees and bodies, and Native bands or chiefs.
- The need for new programs and the needs of prospective users are determined: in consultation with Native organizations and bands; on the basis of proposals from Native and other interest groups; from community groups or consumer demand; with reference to existing legislation, standards, needs scales, and means tests; from analysis of existing services; from interest group pressures; and from statistics.

4. Program development and implementation

- In general, existing problems are most often attributed to cultural and socio-cultural causes, whereas most program intervention strategies aim at changing social and socioeconomic factors.
- Government organizations, which sponsor or otherwise participate in programs, may be restricted to particular program themes by virtue of their respective mandates.
- Government officials identified the following factors as hampering the implementation of Native policies and programs: identifying the Native population, discerning the Native viewpoint, lack of structure and stability within Native organizations, poor managerial and administrative control in Native organizations, lack of funds or staff, cultural differences, institutionalized attitude barriers, stereotypes and discrimination, and the lack of co-operation between Native groups.

- Slightly over one-quarter of respondents indicated that program evaluations were done
 in relation to impact on Native people; reasons given for non-evaluation are intrinsic
 to the evaluation process itself and the nature
 of programs.
- Methods of determining whether facilities and services satisfy client needs are (in order of frequency): monitoring systems, evaluations, research and surveys; feedback from project representatives; staff appraisals; operational reviews and economic analyses; public complaints; feedback from Native organizations.
- Communication of programs and services to potential users takes place mainly: a) through government attempts to reach clients directly (staff, media); b) through Native organizations; c) through community service networks. Ministries and departments differed in their communication methods
- It was agreed by most interviewees that certain groups of people (e.g. geographically isolated) were unaware of available programs and services.

5. Co-ordination of government programs and services

- Most government organizations make use of the many formal methods (e.g. committees, review boards) and informal methods (e.g. liaison with field staff) of co-ordinating programs and services.
- As of December, 1980, there were 29 functioning government committees and subcommittees addressing Native issues, with over 200 Native and non-Native participants.
- 6. Planned new activities concerning urban Native people
 - Several new programs and activities are planned, particularly in the areas of education, alcohol abuse, corrections, foster care, economic development, residential care.

(E) Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings: Summary Research objectives

- To review and critically evaluate the existing demographic studies of urban Native people.
- (Based on previous studies and Task Force research), to estimate the key demographic characteristics of urban Native people, including total Ontario population, urban distributions and concentrations, migration patterns, and statistical indicators of socio-economic conditions.
- To forecast the total and urban Native population to the year 1998.

Research methods

- Literature review.
- Statistical analysis of new Task Force data.
- Demographic forecasting methods.

Results

1. Existing demographic studies

The critical analysis of existing demographic literature accomplishes the following sub-objectives:

- It outlines the assumptions and methodologies used in studies describing Native demographic conditions, with special focus on Ontario.
- It outlines the objectives and major conclusions of the above studies.
- It discusses the limitations that affect the quality of data, analysis and conclusions.
- It presents a comprehensive bibliography of recent demographic literature on Native people.

The major limitations of existing data are as follows:

- Difficulties in *defining the Native population* are affected by ambiguities in personal perception of ethnicity, geographical distribution (e.g. on-and-off-reserve mobility) and inadequate measures of social conditions.
- Difficulties in using existing data sources.
- Problems in survey methodology (e.g. sample biases).
- Human rights considerations affecting identification of ethnic origins within certain institutional complexes.
- Poor research.
- 2. Demographic and migration characteristics: Highlights
 - Total estimated population of Native ancestry in Ontario ranges from 355,000 to 832,000.
 - Estimated off-reserve (status) population is 75,500.
 - Five non-reserve locations (Toronto, Moosonee, Hamilton, Thunder Bay and London) contain just over 60 per cent of the estimated urban population.
 - Native respondents migrate for many reasons, but primarily to seek other employment or improve their education.
 - Task Force survey suggests a higher migration rate in Ontario compared to previous national estimates.
 - The most mobile groups tend to be younger, better educated and male; the majority move alone rather than with a partner or family.

3. Social conditions

- a) Employment
- Unemployment rates of Native people in Ontario are three to four times higher than those of all of Ontario, 1977.
- Unemployment among those age 45 and over is particularly serious.
- b) Housing
- Housing ownership is less for native respondents compared to the general population.
- The largest portion of home owners is among the high income groups.
- Average household size for Natives in Ontario was 3.6 in 1978 compared to 3.1 in Ontario (1977).
- c) Education
- Native people attain lower levels of formal education than the general population.
- d) Income
- More than 50 per cent of one Task Force study sample were earning less than \$7,000 per year, a much higher proportion than exists in the general Ontario population.

4. Demographic forecast

- Total Native population in Ontario will increase 15 per cent, reaching 230,000 by 1998.
- The Native labor force age population (15-64) will grow at a rate of almost double the total Native population.
- Schooling requirements will decline somewhat, as the total number of youth aged 5-19 declines from 67,000 (1978) to 56,000 (1998).
- The number of aged (65+) will increase from 10,700 (1978) to 15,600.
- The *urban* population is projected to increase to 137,655 in 1998, with increases in the *urban* Native *labor force* groups slowing over the forecast period.
- School age urban Native population declines until 1993 and then increases rapidly to 33,000 by 1998.
- Dependency in the urban population declines from eight dependents for every 10 workers (1978) to 4.7 by 1998.

(F) Native People in Urban Settings, a Literature Review: Summary

Research objectives

The literature review project had the following research objectives:

- To develop a bibliography on studies of Native people in urban settings.
- To critically summarize and assess the published and unpublished literature on the above topic.

Research methods

Native fieldworkers collected local documents across Ontario. In addition, literature review methods were used by a research team, including: a) search of university, government and other libraries; b) systematic development of abstracts of articles, theses, books; c) organization of material into functional categories developed by the Task Force.

Results

1. Migration

Native respondents live off reserves for many reasons, chief among which is the search for better employment. The balance of individual and reserve or band resources affects migration rates across Canada. Many Native respondents would prefer to return to their reserve eventually, and many move back and forth in a commuter-like pattern.

2. Urban adjustment

Although many Native respondents prefer urban life, their social and economic adjustment is a struggle. Adjustment is affected by cultural differences, educational and skill levels, previous employment experiences, employer perceptions of skills and the level of ethnic identification in the Native community. Assistance in adjustment is received primarily from friends, relatives and Native organizations, yet receiving help is unaffected by knowing someone or knowing a Native language. The above factors will be examined in detail.

3. Employment

Native respondents have high unemployment rates and are under-represented in white-collar, managerial and government jobs. Employment instability is regarded as a serious urban adjustment problem by Native respondents themselves. Factors affecting such instability are socio-cultural (e.g. Native attitudes and values concerning work), poor economic opportunities in some locations, limited educational and skill levels, certain employment and training institutional structures and practices, and employer attitudes toward Native people. In the case of women, limited day-care opportunities and reliance on jobs supported by

government grants are also limiting factors in employment stability. As a result of job instability, Native respondents' incomes are lower than the general population, with many living below the poverty line.

4. Education

Although the better educated Native person is more likely to leave the reserve or rural community, respondents indicated that limited education in general is a serious limiting factor in urban adjustment. High school withdrawal rates indicate that the situation is not improving for Native young people. Factors negatively affecting school experiences and saccess may be: a) an education system organized according to different cultural premises, b) negative stereotypes of Native people, c) previous family socialization experiences, and d) different learning methods by Native children. Native respondents want the education system to: a) present Native culture and enhance identity, b) teach the dominant culture, c) be open to Native society in general. The assumptions behind proposals and efforts to enhance the relevance of education for Natives (e.g. Native content, Native teachers) have not been adequately researched.

5. Discrimination

Although perceptions of discrimination seem to vary in different parts of the country, and indeed, in different Ontario regions (e.g. small towns), there is still evidence of discriminatory attitudes among some employers.

6. Cultural differences

Many Native respondents wish to retain their cultural identity, a phenomenon that some authors believe may happen as a result of oppression, rather than a commitment to a common Native identity. Despite a diversity in cultural backgrounds, and therefore beliefs and practices, some patterns are frequently identified in the literature as perhaps being incompatible with white dominant society: a) the importance of people and relationships, over material things; b) the power of nature and the importance of people's harmony with nature; c) the value of group over individual goals; d) co-operation over competition; e) the involvement of relatives in child-rearing; f) childhood as an inevitable process which should not be interfered with by punishment, rules or prescription. The literature review examined a series of topics that may be considered "outcomes" or "indicators" of the quality of life faced by Native people in urban settings: poor health and nutrition, alcohol

abuse, children in welfare institutions, and inadequate housing. Unfortunately, these must be considered as suggestive only, since no large-scale surveys have been completed. The knowledge gathered about these areas is now presented in a highly summarized form.

7. Health and nutrition

In general, the life expectancy of Native people is lower than that of the general population, and Natives are likely to die for different reasons. Some illnesses (e.g. children's seizures) and health-care practices are hypothetically linked to socio-psychological conditions (e.g. "cultural alienation") and cultural differences (e.g. attitudes towards modern preventative health practices). Nutritional levels have not been adequately studied, but these are linked, again hypothetically, to difficulties in using new urban food systems and extensive reliance on low-cost starchy foods.

8. Alcohol abuse

Research has challenged myths about Native alcohol use, and new sociological and anthropological approaches are giving attention to such environmental factors as socio-economic conditions, the function of skid-row sub-culture, and the meaning of behavior (e.g. aggression) accompanying alcohol use. The public use of alcohol by Natives is thought to promote negative stereotypes. Alcohol use accompanies Native crime, sudden deaths, suicides and accidents. The federal government contributes the largest proportion of estimated revenues from alcohol sales to Native people for use in alcohol abuse programs.

9. Children and families

Although there are interprovincial differences, Native children are disproportionately represented in child welfare institutions across Canada, a fact promoting a loss of contact with Native communities and cultures. Native definitions of child neglect and appropriate family behavior differ from those in such institutions. Native people are alarmed at the child welfare situation.

10. Housing

Urban Native people home ownership is below the national rate, with non-status Indians being the more likely homeowners. Factors related to their occupancy of substandard housing are low incomes, non-serviceable lands in some northern communities, and discrimination. Native respondents show considerable reliance on families and friends for housing, and frequently are part of large households.

11. Native crime and the justice system

Cross-Canada studies show that Natives are disproportionately represented in jail, and have high recidivism rates. Most offences relate to liquor and vehicle abuse and are committed in urban areas mainly by unemployed people. Natives are less likely to use court and prison resources during processing and incarceration. They are also particularly hurt by fines and are less likely to be released on bail. A review of the Ontario Native Courtworker Program resulted in several recommendations for improvement.

12. The use of resources

Native people are highly involved with at least some social service agencies (e.g. employment services, welfare), allowing for some variation across Canada. High use of medical services is uniform, and satisfaction is reported. Close friends, relatives and Native organizations are the main sources of information about services, although large numbers (e.g. 50 per cent in one study) were unaware of useful programs (e.g. housing assistance). The problems reported in receiving services relate to culture gaps, communication problems, problems in adhering to agency rules, confusion about procedures, and difficulties in meeting agency or program requirements.

13. Integration into the community: friends, relatives and formal associations

With some exceptions, Native respondents mix with their Native friends and relatives. Friends and TV consume much leisure time. Although there are differences in various cities, they are not active joiners of non-Native organizations and are only moderately involved in Native associations. On other measures of integration into the Native community, differences across Canada are evident. Toronto Native respondents are moderately active. However, most Native people retain their ethnicity in one way or another.

Native organizations have a mixture of service, recreational and political functions. One recent survey of Native women gave the Ontario Native Women's Association a mandate for political, economic and community development.

Quality of research on urban Native people

The quality of Native research is poor; methods are often unreported; response rates are low; concepts are undefined; sub-group analyses are sometimes not done; many gaps in research exist. Traditional research methods are probably inappropriate for Native studies. Research done by Native organizations is particularly weak, a fact possibly explained by insufficient research training. Native respondents generally feel over-researched, and are looking for concrete results.

(G) A Survey of the Use of Native Demographic Data by a Selected Group of Key Users in Otario: Summary

Research objectives

This project addressed the following research questions:

- What data and data sources are currently utilized by key users of Native demographic information in Native organizations, governments and academic institutions in Ontario?
- What are the potential uses of the data by key users?
- What are the perceptions of the adequacy of the actual data and data sources?
- What are the perceived differences of other groups' information needs?

Research methods

1. Data gathering

Data was gathered using interview schedules directly administered by interviewers. Questions were pre-coded and open-ended.

2. Sample

Key users are persons within organizations who would, as part of their duties, have reasons to use demographic and socio-economic data on Native people. Organizations sampled were: a) Native profit or non-profit organizations, b) federal government departments, c) provincial government ministries, d) colleges and universities that offer specific programs of study for Native people or that offer programs and courses on Native people. Sixty-three key users were interviewed from various types of Native organizations, government ministries and levels, and academic institutions. The majority of key users were of the director level or higher, or program analysts. Their duties were mainly policy development and administration, program development and administration, and general administration.

Results

- Statistical data was generally important to the work of the survey participants.
- There was a *low-use* but *high awareness* of a prepared list of data sources.
- The federal group within the sample was the predominant user of data on the list.
- The Native group was more likely to be *unaware* of data on the prepared list than any other group within the sample.
- The data required by all groups was generally viewed to be *somewhat* in existence.
- Research results were generally provided to sample members.
- The federal government group reported that they did not perceive a difference in their data needs as compared to other groups; the Native group perceived a difference in their data needs as compared to other groups.
- Most members of the sample stated that differences in data needs were not addressed by current data collection methods; the differences in data needs were, however, being addressed by the data distribution channels.
- Approximately one-half of the sample indicated that they had experienced problems in data usage; most of the identified problems are related to the methodology used to collect and prepare data, rather than to its actual use.

The report urges a greater co-operation between groups in the collection and distribution of data.

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